



FRIAR BACON'S STUDY ON FOLLY BRIDGE, DEMOLISHED 1779.

Θ

RIXAE OXONIENSES

BY

Fletcher

SAMUEL F. HULTON

ILLUSTRATED

WITH VIEWS OF DEMOLISHED BUILDINGS OF OXFORD

TAKEN FROM SKELTON'S 'OXONIA ANTIQUA RESTAURATA.'

THAT honourable enterprises, noble adventures, and deeds of arms may be properly related, and held in perpetual remembrance, to the end that brave men taking example from them may be encouraged in well-doing, I sit down to record a history deserving great praise.

SIR JOHN FROISSART.

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PREFACE

THE author hereby acknowledges the very evident obligations he is under to Anthony Wood, Hearne and Prideaux, to Mr. Maxwell Lyte's 'History of the University of Oxford,' Mr. Anstey's 'Munimenta Academica,' Mr. W. H. Turner's 'City Records,' Dr. Brodrick's 'History of the University of Oxford,' and to the publications of the Oxford Historical Society.

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CHAPTER I.

THE BATTLES OF THE NATIONS.

Chronica si penses,
Cum pugnant Oxonienses,
Post paucos menses
Volat ira per Angligenenses.

WHEN during the twelfth century a great revival of learning in Europe followed the increasing intercourse between the East and West in Spain, and the discovery at Amalfi of the Justinian Pandects, Oxford offered special advantages to the student. The town was already a place of substance; a prosperous borough, distinguished in the past as a frontier stronghold, and a meeting-place of national assemblies. In the immediate neighbourhood were wealthy religious houses, such as Abingdon, Eynsham, Oseney[1], and St. Frideswyde's, probably boasting each of them claustral schools, already well patronised. Close under the north wall of the city, Henry I, in 1130, built Beaumont Palace; and what time the king could spare from sport at Woodstock, he took delight to spend at Oxford, in the society of scholars.

[1] See note 1, p. 35.

Henry II inherited his grandfather's tastes, and passed much time there; Richard was born at Beaumont, John at Woodstock.

Whether moved by such attractions or not, by choice or by chance, a considerable number of scholars settled in Oxford towards the middle of the twelfth century, and pulpits in lecture rooms were occupied by professors of world-wide celebrity. Robert Pullein, Vacarius the Lombard, Giraldus Cambrensis, were names to conjure with; men left all in their thirst for knowledge, and followed 'such popular teachers from castle and city, living on bread and herbs, lying on straw and making clods of earth their table.'

To Oxford then, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, came up all peoples and nations and languages; students from England, Wales, Ireland, and the continental possessions of the Crown; Spaniards, Italians, Swedes, Bohemians and natives of Hungary and Poland; Scotchmen with letters of safe conduct from the English king; Parisians, whose constant commerce with the University was for long the subject of special clauses in Anglo-French treaties. Thirty thousand of them, so some say; of all sorts and conditions; some of wealth and high social position; members of royal families, foreigners of distinction, noblemen, and wealthy merchants, who entered Oxford with a train of vassals, artisans, and domestic servants; the majority of a lower station; sons of yeomen and tradesmen, too weak to speed the plough or ply the

craft of their parents; starving clerks from Ireland or Wales ready to earn a lodging with an improvised verse or a supper with an epigram [1]; batches of boys delivered by a 'fetcher,' or professional carrier of poor scholars at cheap rates to and from the University; others in rags with licenses to beg, who 'travelled with bags and wallets, and sang 'Salve Regina' at rich men's doors' for alms; children of the people, whose precocious talent had attracted the patronage of king, prelate or nobleman. Halls and Hostles, taverns and victualling houses, were crowded to excess; every depopulated cottage was rendered habitable by the enterprising burghers; scholars were packed three or four together in garrets, or made their 'lair' in poor cabins, in hovels, in the turrets on the city walls, and in chambers over the gates.

Over its heterogeneous members, the infant University, fully engaged in fighting its own battles as a Body, exercised but slight control. The tendency of the new scholastic philosophy was to undervalue old-established laws and limits. The course of 'Arts,' consisting of the Trivium of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and the Quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, was considered out of date. Through it, in a remodelled form, the enthusiast hurried to plunge into wild speculations in metaphysics and theology, or to dabble in alchemy and the black arts [2]. Schoolmen such as Lanfranc, Anselm, Abelard,

[1] See note 2, p. 36. [2] See note 3, p. 36.

Peter Lombard, Aquinas, Duns Scotus and Occham, revelled in endless disputations, and encouraged their disciples to allow nothing human or divine to escape their system of searching cross-examination; there was but one god, Aristotle, of whom they were the prophets; they were prepared to debate with nice distinctions and ready wrangling, any question from matters of every day life such as Love, Law, the Intellect, to the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, the nature of Demons, the habits and customs of Angels.

In these early days the manners of the mediaeval Oxonian were as free as his studies. No statutes as yet forbade his diversions with 'dibs, dice, and cards,' or penalized 'ball-play in the private yards and gardens of the townsmen.' The artless art of cudgel-play was no crime. Fearing no proctor's frown, he joined the honest citizens at football in the public streets and precincts of the University. In Beaumont fields, athletes 'practysed them in shootinge with the bow and arbelstre, to play with the sworde and buckeler, to runne, to just, to play with the poleaxe, and to wrestle; and they began to bear harneys, to runne horses, and to approve them, as desyringe to be good and faithful knightes to susteyne the faith of God; for youth, emulous of glory, seeks these exercises against the time that war shall demand their presence.'

It was the age of Chivalry and the Crusades. Until 1305, tiltings and tournaments were regularly held at Oxford, and are thus described by Fuller: 'Many sad

casualties were caused by these meetings, though ordered with the best caution. Arms and legs were often broken as well as spears. Much lewd people waited on these assemblies, light housewives as well as light horsemen repaired thereto. Yea, such was the clashing of swords, the rattling of arms, the sounding of trumpets, the neighing of horses, the shouting of men all day-time, with the roaring of riotous revellers all the night, that the scholars' studies were disturbed, safety endangered, lodging straitened, charges enlarged, all provisions being unconscionably enhanced. In a word, so many warhorses were brought hither, that Pegasus himself was likely to be shut out; for where Mars keeps his terms, there the Muses may even make their vacation.'

Nor was sport forgotten. Norman and Plantagenet kings loved the tall deer as their own children. Archbishops, with packs of hounds and trains of attendants, made hunting progresses from parish to parish of their dioceses, and clergy kept their archdeacons in dogs and hawks. Tombs of the period show greyhounds couched at the feet of warriors, falcons on the wrists of their ladies. Rooms at Oxford were tenanted by ferrets, hawks, and hounds, and many were the complaints of neighbouring landowners against Scholar-Poachers, who hunted with dogs and greyhounds to warrens, parks, and forests, in the counties of Oxford Berks and Buckingham, taking hares and conies, and threatening the lives of gamekeepers

therein. Some more adventurous spirits, despising the terrors of the game laws snatched a fearful joy in the pursuit of the king's deer in the forests of Bernwood, Stowe, and Woodstock.

The scholars, taken as a body were free, fearless, and independent. They wore no academical costume, unless to noblemen, graduates, and members of collegiate foundations, some distinctive dress was allowed as a privilege; they dwelt where they pleased, either lodging singly in the houses of the townsfolk, or in Halls rented by some group of them together. Showing little or no respect for rights of person or property, they were ready to go anywhere and do anything, whether it should chance to be the pillage of each other's rooms, the slaughter of the citizens, or the sack of a monastery. Frequent mention is made in the chronicles of the time of a class of students, who 'thieved and quarrelled all day, had no tutors, but only for fashion's sake thrust themselves into the schools at ordinary lectures'; in many instances bands of clerks deserted Oxford, and supported a life of nature under the greenwood-tree of Shotover Forest, upon the involuntary contributions of wayfarers. The Chancellor and Proctors administered justice with swords at their side, and business was brisk in their Court; wardens of Halls charged with encouraging their scholars to take beer forceably in the streets from inmates of other Hostles; scholars charged with kidnapping, robbery from the person,

and threats of murder; reverend Doctors of Canon Law finding sureties to keep the peace towards taverners, apothecaries, and glovers; schoolmasters threatened with excommunication, conspiring to prevent their sentence being pronounced in church, and to drag the priest from the pulpit; vicars ordered to surrender clubs, they had plied not wisely but too well; masters of Halls banished for breaking prison, scholars for threatening the Vice-Chancellor, stoning and shooting arrows at the Proctors. Fine and imprisonment, excommunication and banishment, which thundered from the judgment-seat, too often fell fruitless. The culprit on the first sign of difficulties ahead, took refuge in one of the numerous sanctuaries in Oxford and defied arrest, or quitted the town, carrying all his worldly goods on his shoulders.

The history of the Nations at Oxford well illustrates the lawless existence there. Soon after the beginning of the twelfth century, the students appear divided into the Northern, Southern, Welsh and Irish Nations. Of their constitution, rights, and laws nothing is known. Such distinctions existed in other Universities at the time; the law-students at Bologna were divided into Citra Montani or Italians, and Ultra Montani or foreigners; at Paris the Faculty of Arts was split up into four nations: French, English, Norman and Picard. Differences in language, associations, and pursuits; the influence of the civil and baronial wars; the constant struggle between England and Wales and

Scotland, supply sufficient reasons for such divisions in the English University. In spite of threats and entreaties from the Chancellor, in spite of royal letters and statutes, assuring the rival parties they were labouring under a mistake of fact, and were really members of one undivided nation, the clerks insisted on the distinction they had drawn, and to such purpose that eventually the University authorities were bound to acquiesce. The Northern and Southern nations had always been the most important of the four, and henceforth the Proctors were respectively Northern and Southern; keepers of the University chests, examiners in the Schools and architects of public buildings, were elected with due regard to a fair representation of the two rivals. The decision of their disputes would sometimes be referred to arbitration, and there are instances where the parties were ordered to meet the arbitrator at a given time and place, and there and then to give one another the kiss of forgiveness, or over a bottle of wine to seal up their differences. Such peaceful settlements were of rare occurrence. The combatants usually took the law into their own hands, and when such was the case, well-meaning peacemakers fared badly. Thomas Reynald, the Southern Proctor, who with the best intentions interfered between 'Scholares de hospitio Peckwater' and others 'de aulâ St. Edwardi,' was severely hustled, and the University settled the doctor's bill. While burning questions of the kind were in

course of settlement, the streets of Oxford were best avoided by disinterested parties. ‘On the vigils of St. Kenelm, king and martyr, 1319, a most grievous conflict fell out between the Northern and Southern scholars, and the former were in full pursuit of the latter down Cat Street (Catherine Street). It chanced that at this moment one Luke de Horton came out of his house to clean the doorstep and gutter. In a moment Elias de Hubblethorp, supposing him to be one that belonged to the Southern party, gave him a cut on the head with his sword; which being deep to the brain, he died soon after. There were many, that had that night received wounds, but darkness coming on, they were forced to part.’

Dusk was usually the hour chosen for the adjustment of disputes. The day was fully occupied with lectures and amusements, but when darkness came on, time was apt to hang heavily on the hands of the mediaeval student. Books were scarce, candles costly, lodgings close and unhealthy. Halls with their carpets of rushes decayed and charged with refuse, naturally drove the scholar into the streets. Such quarrels as the following were of constant occurrence; ‘About candlelighting, at the hour of six, Lewis of North Wales and David ap Owen, Clerks, with others, met together in School Street (Radcliffe Street), and being in discourse, passed by them two of the companions of Will: de Roule of the Bishopric of Durham, then lodging in a Hostle without Smithgate. Whom,

when the Welsh clerks and their fellows saw, gave them reproachful words and urged them to fight. Whereupon they raised hue and cry for help, which being no sooner done, but several Northern clerks came in, and particularly the said Will: de Roule. But though he came in armed with a lusty cudgel, yet the Welsh clerks and their assistants being numerous, did so much prosecute their blows upon Roule, that he was straight-way carried to his Inn and there in the middle of the night following expired.'

The house of the time, built in two stories at most, unconnected one with the other internally, but with an outside staircase alone as a means of communication, and provided with narrow slits for windows, was easily defended. The Halls, slightly larger buildings, were admirable points for muster and rally. They soon became appropriated exclusively by members of one or other of the Nations. Scholars going up to Oxford would naturally seek a home, where they would find men from the same part of the country, speaking the same dialect, as themselves; and thus small strongholds of one or other of the Nations were formed. This was the case with the Colleges to some extent, in later days. Founders usually preferred in elections to their foundations, candidates hailing from their own native counties; thus Merton became identified with the Southerners, Balliol and Brasenose with the Northerners; Queen's College preferred natives of Cumberland and Westmoreland; Exeter was fre-

quented by men from Devonshire and Cornwall; Oriel and All Souls were at times 'much troubled' with Welshmen.

Occasions were frequent, when the Nations were brought into collision; the election of University officials; the statutory dinners given by graduates on obtaining their degrees; church wakes and ales; the celebration of the festivals of patron saints; national festivals, when masters and scholars went in procession to church, the latter dancing through the streets, disguised with masks, and crowned with garlands of leaves and flowers.

On one of such latter occasions, a serious conflict occurred between the Irish and Northerners, and an attempt was made by the Chancellor to put an end to such disturbances. At a solemn congregation held in St. Mary's Church, thirty or forty representatives of either party bound themselves by oath not to disturb the peace of the University, or to procure or permit others to do so, while provisions were made for the decision of future disputes by the Chancellor, assisted by assessors elected by the parties respectively.

This agreement may have been respected by the parties consenting thereto, but was not regarded as having any binding effect by their successors. 'In 1258, on the feast of Holy Trinity, fell out a sad dissension between the scholars of divers nations, namely between the Scotch, Welsh, Northern and Southern English. The Northern and Welsh joined

together against the Southern, and had banners and flags among them to distinguish each division. They also pitched their field near Oxford (in that of Beaumont as it seems) where each party trying their valour, fell together in such a confusion with their warlike array, that in conclusion divers on both sides were slain and pitifully wounded. This bloody conflict during among them for some time, the event thereof was this, that the Northern scholars with the Welsh, had with much ado the victory, and were saluted by the name of conquerors; while the other party withdrew themselves and comforted each other in their losses. After this combustion was past and had done what it could, the victors considered with themselves what they had done, and how in the meantime their actions would be relished by the king; fearing also that severe punishment should fall upon them, especially as the brother of Leolin, Prince of Wales, son of Griffyn, was newly deceased in prison. They therefore summoned their council and assistance together, and upon advice had among them, offer to the king 4000 marks; to Edward his son, 300 marks; and to the Queen 200 marks; to be released of their trespasses and faults committed. But the king at that time gave answer to them, that he set more value on the life of one trusty subject, than on the money they had offered. Upon which answer, the scholars, without hope of reconciliation, retired home with little satisfaction, notwithstanding that the king was then

involved in great affairs and wars, partly with Leolin and his Welshmen, and partly at home with his nobles, which broils diverting the king, he could not be at leisure to attend the punishment of the scholars.'

In 1267 were quarrels between the Northerners and Irish, and South with North, Wales, and Scotland. In 1274 the Welsh who throughout the late baronial wars had joined the Northerners in support of De Montfort, now returned to their old alliance with the Southerners and Irish, and fought the Northerners and Scotch. Attempts at reconciliation proved fruitless, and agreements to refer disputes to arbitration were constantly broken.

'In 1314, on the Sabbath Day, being the morrow after the invention of the Holy Cross, fell out a sore conflict between the Northern scholars on the one hand, and the Southern and Western on the other. For so it was, that from a small occasion, many of them came into St. John Baptist Street (Merton Street) and Grope Lane (Grove Street), armed with swords and bucklers, bows and arrows, with other weapons, and there continued fighting several hours. But the Northern party finding themselves to be worsted, some of them retired into a Hall opposite to the south end of Grope Lane, called Goter Hall. Their names were Robert de Bridlyngton (of Merton College), Adam de Alderbeck, Richard de Louthby, and Adam de Lymby, who standing in a window of a chamber in the said Hall, shot divers arrows into Grope Lane, and one

that Bridlyngton shot, killed Henry de Insula, clerk. At the same time also David de Kirkeby unmercifully perished; for after John de Benton had given him a dangerous wound in the hinder part of his head with his faucheon, came Will: de la Hyde, and wounded him in the knee with his sword, and Will: de Astele gave him a cut under the left arm. About the end of the next month following, the Northern and Western clerks fought again within Northgate (Cornmarket) at the Vesper House; in which conflict came Stephen de Caperugge, and wounded to the heart one Gilbert de Crofton, who feeling himself mortally hurt, went towards Smithgate on his way to his Hostle, but before he could get in, Roger de Northerne shot him with an arrow in the head, which touching the brain, he fell down immediately dead. The fight being very furious and a great many hurt thereby, the King by his Letters appointed Henry Spygurnell, Henry le Scrope, and John de Foxely, to inquire into the said outrages.' No punishment was, it seems, inflicted on the combatants; De Bridlyngton lived several years, and died after suffering great injuries from the citizens, who laid violent hands upon him.

Various statutes were passed about this time to strengthen the hands of the Chancellor in dealing with riotous clerks. The Archbishop promised, on behalf of himself and the other Bishops, that excommunicated persons, who defied the Chancellor's authority by quitting Oxford, should be surrendered to him, when

demanded, into whatever diocese they might have fled. If they held benefices, the proceeds should be sequestrated for three years, and devoted to the payment of damages for the injuries they had committed; unbeneficed clerks should be deemed incapable of institution to any benefice for a term of five years. Persons suspected of riotous behaviour were required to find sureties for their good behaviour; a list of those who evaded justice was kept; scholars were forbidden to carry arms unless entering or leaving the town on a journey.

In 1334 a fight between the Northern and Southern Nations, resulted in the retirement of the former to Stamford in Lincolnshire. This secession is the most important of the many that occurred in the history of 'Town and Gown' and 'National' conflicts. In 1261 disturbances of the former description occurring simultaneously at Oxford and Cambridge, students retired from both Universities to Northampton, and with the permission of Henry III continued to pursue their studies in that town. In 1264 when in the wars between the king and barons, the former with a great force went to disperse the latter, assembled at Northampton, these scholars 'collected under a banner by themselves, and with their slings, long-bows and cross-bows, did vex and gall the King's men, so that the king taking notice of them, and zealously inquiring who they were, swore with a deep oath he would have them all hanged.' The result, however, was not so

serious, Henry merely forbidding them to stay any longer at Northampton. This caused a migration to Stamford, and the present secession of 1334 largely increased the number of scholars studying there. Both Oxford and Cambridge began to fear the rival University, and petitioned the Queen to use her influence with Edward III to suppress it. Their efforts proved successful, and in answer to repeated requests the King at last ordered the sheriff of Lincolnshire to stop the performance of all scholastic exercises in the town, and a short while afterwards the scholars were commanded to disperse. This, they for a while refused to do, and it was not until the sheriff threatened forcible eviction, that they abandoned Stamford. Even then Oxford felt anxiety on the point, and until 1827 all candidates for degrees were required to swear they would recognize no Universities but Oxford and Cambridge, and that they would neither give nor attend lectures at Stamford. By this secession '*the prophecy of old by the Ancient British Apollo, Merlin, was come to pass, which runneth thus—*

> Doctrinae studium, quod nunc viget ad vada Boum
> Tempore venturo celebrabitur ad vada Saxi (Stone-ford).'

In 1349 the Nations quarrelled over the election of a Chancellor. 'The supporters of John Willyot, the Southern candidate, came into St. Mary's Church on several occasions, and disturbed University Meetings. Such conduct drew forth a Bull from Pope John XXII against brawling in the Church or yard of

St. Mary. Undeterred by this, John Willyot's party broke rudely into the Church at the time when the Chancellor was to be elected, and there with clamours and shoutings, cried him to be their Chancellor. On those that did oppose him, they laid violent hands, beat, kicked about, and cudgelled them, till some were sorely wounded, and others in a manner killed.' In the course of the riot the University Chest was broken open, and the Common Seal and many books were taken away. The Southern party were as usual the stronger, and had their way. John Willyot was instituted Chancellor, and Robert Ingram the Northern Proctor, who had opposed his election, was banished from Oxford.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century the quarrel between North and South ran very high. They had taken different sides in the never-ending disputes of the schoolmen; the Northerners had followed Duns Scotus and Realism, the Southerners Thomas Aquinas, Occham and Nominalism; the South remained orthodox, while the North listened to Wyclif and sympathized with the Lollards. In 1388 a fight occurred between the Southern and Irish on one side, and the Northern on the other, and early in 1389 another engagement was only prevented by the prompt intervention of the Duke of Gloucester.

'On Thursday in the fourth week of Lent in the twelfth year of the reign of Richard II, Thomas Speeke, chaplain, and John Kirkby with a multitude

of other malefactors, appointing captains among them, rose up against the peace of the King, and sought after all Welshmen abiding and studying in Oxford, shooting arrows before them in divers streets and lanes as they went, crying out "war, war, war, fle, fle, fle; the Walsh doggys and her whelyps, and ho so loketh out of his house, he shall in good soote be dead"; and certain persons they slew and others they grievously wounded, and some of the Welshmen, who bowed their knees to abjure the Town, they, the Northern scholars, led to the gates, causing them to kiss the gates in dishonourable fashion. But being not content with that, they, while the said Welshmen knelt to kiss it, would knock their heads against the gate in such an inhuman manner, that they would force blood out of the noses of some, and tears from the eyes of others.

'After they had thrust out all the Welshmen, as many for the present as they could lay their hands on, they, the Northern scholars, went to make a particular search for more at the Halls, wherein they abode. And first they went to Deep Hall near to that of the University, which they feloniously broke open, and took away the goods of John Hoby to the value of thirty shillings. Then they went to the chamber of one Thomas Frenshe in the said Hall, which also they broke open, and took thence two swords, bows and arrows, and books. They then went to Nevylls Entry and St. Agace Hall, which they in like

manner pillaged. The Sunday following they ransacked Perye Hall, Mildred Hall, and several others, carrying off clothes, grammar and logic books, linen and woollen garments, swords, bows and arrows, harps and musical instruments, while they slew many scholars. The same day they carried the doors, gates, and tables of the said Halls into the High Street near St. Mary's Church, and took away the timber and wood of some Laics with which they were building, and withdrew themselves from Charleton's Inn, near to the said Church, to another house, where they remained revelling all the night.'

From the beginning of the fifteenth century may be dated the decline of the Nations. To this result a variety of causes contributed. The cosmopolitan character, which had marked the University in the first two centuries of its existence, was disappearing. In 1369 all scholars, as well religious as secular, of the kingdom of France and the dominions thereof abiding and staying in Oxford, were ordered to depart thence and the kingdom of England, within eight days. Religious schisms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries deterred foreigners from resorting, as formerly, to the English University. In 1413, all Irish people were ordered to depart the realm, except some that were religious and others that were graduates, and these were allowed to remain only upon condition of putting in security for good behaviour, and agreeing not to take upon themselves

the Principality of any Hall. No Irishman was to presume to come to either University, unless he could show to the Chancellor thereof, testimonials from the Lieutenant or Justiciar of his native country. This statute does not seem to have been strictly enforced. Licenses to reside in Oxford were easily procured from the king. In 1422, however, the Irish were alleged to have committed many robberies and manslaughter, both within and without the University, and among other great incivilities to have hindered the king's baillives in collecting the fee-farm rents. A petition against them was addressed to Parliament, and the statute of 1413 was revived, and strictly enforced. The Welsh about this time quitted Oxford for a time on the outbreak of Owen Glendower's insurrection, and many others fled after a riot in 1437.

Many statutes of the time were directed towards a general reformation of manners. Beneficed clergy who had preferred to live in Oxford, partly for the sake of study, but chiefly because Colleges, Halls, Inns and Entries were sanctuaries for them against the distraint and arrest of bailiffs, were ordered to return to their deserted flocks in the country. The feasts [1], held according to statute at graduation, which had frequently deteriorated into National Battles, were regulated. Free ingress and egress was secured for Masters and their servants; no one, save the servants

[1] See note 4, p. 37.

of the host or of the University were to enter before them; and only after they had seated themselves, were the rest of the scholars allowed to sit down in order of rank; no one was to be permitted to beat the doors or tables or roof, or to throw stones or other dangerous missiles during the entertainment. Masters at Congregation and Convocation were forbidden to walk about during the meetings, and were ordered to give their votes where they stood; to express their opinions quietly, when the time came for them to speak; and to abstain from strong language to those who differed from them. They were forbidden to walk about the Church of St. Mary outside the chancel during celebration of masses and funerals under pain of a sixpenny fine. Undergraduates were cautioned against wearing the hoods of Masters of Arts, and Bachelors who 'to their own damnation and the discredit of the University,' disregarded their oath, and instead of wearing hoods lined throughout with fur, wore others simply edged therewith, were ordered to provide themselves with the correct article within fourteen days.

But the chief cause of the gradual cessation of National Battles was the decay of the unattached system. It had long been discredited by being associated with a class of scholar called 'Chamberdekyns,' 'who in the habit of poor scholars would often disturb the peace of the University, live under no government of Principals, keep up for the most

part in the day, and in the night go abroad to commit spoils and manslaughter, lurk about taverns and houses of ill repute, commit burglaries and the like.' In 1421 all scholars and their servants were required to swear within a month of their arrival at Oxford, in the presence of the Chancellor, to observe all statutes enacted for the preservation of the peace of the University. They were also to place themselves under the government of some sufficient Principal, and to be responsible for the behaviour of their servants. Some ten years later all scholars were commanded to reside in some College or Hall, and no Townsman without special leave was permitted to allow a scholar to reside in his house under pain of fine.

Principals were to be of the rank of graduates at least, to apply for a renewal of their licenses once a year before the Chancellor; to reside in their Halls, to keep a list of members, and report disorderly conduct; to refuse admittance into their respective societies to any one who had been expelled from elsewhere.

Colleges were rising thick and fast; Merton, 1264; University, 1280; Balliol, 1282; Exeter, 1314; Oriel, 1326; Queen's, 1340; New College, 1386.

The effect wrought by these changes on Oxford life was but gradual. Pious founders sought in vain to work a rapid reformation of manners by rules of the utmost minuteness, ordering the very downsittings

and uprisings of those who enjoyed their benefactions. The result of their efforts must have been frequently disappointing. 'Chaste, peaceable, humble, and anxious for improvement' seems scarcely an appropriate description of the mediaeval Mertonian; University College of the fourteenth century would hardly be recognized as 'a society of clerks living honourably in a manner befitting saints, not fighting or using scurrilous or low words; not reciting, singing, or willingly hearing songs or tales of an amatory or indecent nature; not taunting or provoking one another to anger, and not shouting so as to disturb the studies and repose of the industrious.' The Fellows of Queen's College were bidden to eschew 'hawk and hound, second suppers, drinking and convivial meetings of all sorts, cards and dice'; the statutory Balliol scholar was required to live a life resembling 'a melody that's sweetly played in tune' ('Qualis est chordarum in citharâ congrue sonantium concentus, talis debet esse vita clericorum et conversatio,' *Balliol statutes*). Not even yet, perhaps, has New College fully realised the design sketched in the Statutes of Wykeham; the family of Warden, Fellows and Scholars dwelling together in unity; the morning and evening prayer for the Founder and the souls of Edward III, his Queen, and Edward the Black Prince; the solemn processions on great festivals round the unrivalled cloister; the common meals, eaten in silence, while some junior scholar read a chapter of the Bible aloud; the sober

scholars, who retired early to solitary meditation in their chambers, or clustered round the fire in Hall to listen to some serious book.

Riots, thefts, and felonies were still committed in the streets. Scholar-poachers armed and in manner of war put divers persons out of their lands and tenements, and rescued with a high hand clerks convicted by due process of law. A tariff of fines for violence was drawn up in 1432; twelve pence was imposed as a penalty for threats of personal violence; four shillings for pushing with the shoulder or striking with the fist; ten shillings for a blow with axe or sword; twenty shillings for carrying bows and arrows. In 1477 many were killed and wounded in a fight between two Halls, and the Crown judges, sent down to investigate the matter, required a police force to protect them from the violence of the scholars.

Frequent encounters took place between graduates; in 1433 the Faculties of Medicine, Civil Law and Theology quarrelled with the Faculty of Arts; soon after, a violent meeting took place between the Bachelors of Civil Law and the Masters of other Faculties. In 1502 'the Legists of Hinxsey Hall and Peckwater's Inn came into collision, and the scholars of the latter wandered about the University doing much harm and mischief, and broke the windows of the house of Mr. Hawarden the Northern Proctor.' 'Four years later the Northern and Southern students gathered together in the High Street

before St. Mary's Church about four of the clock in the afternoon, and fought with arrows in a hostile manner. In the conflict the Principal of Hart Hall, then Fellow of Exeter, a scholar of St. Alban's Hall, and another of Staple Hall were slain, besides many others who were wounded. Several Merton men were engaged in the fight, of whom Mr. John Foster, Principal of St. Alban's Hall was the chief; also Mr. Philip Dense and Mr. John Wingar, who with their gowns flung aside were present in the crowd.' Riots at Oxford were so frequent at this time that there were thoughts of taking away the privileges of the University; 'and without doubt it would so have come to pass, had not Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, laboured seasonably with importunate requests to the contrary.'

In 1580, 'since several decrees had been made for the orderly keeping of the act, Dr. Matthews, Dean of Christ Church, who was this year Vice-Chancellor, resolved to see them severely observed, and foreseeing some rudeness that was like to be done by the juniors on Act Monday, kept the door leading to the scaffolds (built theatre-wise at the east end of St. Mary's Church) in his own person. And among the divers academicians that endeavoured to enter, and were by him repelled, was Dr. Harris, Principal of Brasenose College, who, though a Head and consequently entitled to a place there, was with scorn (the Vice-Chancellor being probably in a passion) thrust down.'

Dr. Harris, who was his senior in the University, took the affront in great indignation, and when the Dean surrendered his office of Vice-Chancellor, insulted him publicly in a gross manner. The societies of Brasenose and Christ Church took up the quarrel, and for several years afterwards nothing but affronts and scuffles occurred between them, cursing in the schools followed by blows, and denying of graces.

'In 1586 certain scholars of Magdalen College stealing deer in the Forest of Shotover, one of them, named Thomas Godstow, was taken before Lord Norreys and by him imprisoned. His companions determined to be avenged, and when the judge came again to Oxford and lodged himself and his retinue at the Bear Inn near All Saints Church, they girt their gowns about them, and taking divers sorts of weapons in their hands, made an assault on some of the lord's servants, intending at length to lay hold of the lord himself.' In this, however, they were unsuccessful; Maximilian, Lord Norreys son, made an attack on them, and beat them back to St. Mary's Church; the Proctors appeared and the scholars dispersed. Next day the Heads of Houses were ordered to keep their scholars within the gates of the Colleges, while Lord Norreys departed. The scholars of Magdalen College however, 'not being able to pocket their affronts, went up privately to the top of their Tower, and sent down a shower of stones upon him and his retinue, as they passed

beneath, wounding some and endangering others of their lives. It is said that in foresight of this storm, many had got boards or tables on their heads; and that if the lord had not been in his coach, he would have certainly been killed. Some of the offenders were severely punished, others expelled, and the Lord Norreys with much ado pacified by the University.'

In 1587 disturbances between the South and Welsh and North were not pacified without blood and wounds. So ends the History of the Battles of the Nations.

The troubles of the Reformation, the devastating royal commissions of Edward VI and Mary, the opening up of new pursuits by the discovery of the New World, the constant plagues which ravaged Oxford, had during the preceding century greatly reduced the number of scholars. The dissolution and disendowment of the religious houses destroyed many of the attractions of a clerical career, and at the same time deprived the poorer class of student of its means of support at the University. Such scholars 'were forced, as 'twere to graze on the common; the lands and goods taken from Abbeys, Colleges, Chauntries, to serve the king in all necessaries and charges, especially for provision and relief of poor scholars and the cherishing of learning, were by base men juggled from, or begged of him; which being afterwards grasped in Lay hands, not easily unclinched,

could by no means be obtained again for such worthy acts of piety.' Of hundreds of Halls that tradition tells us have been in Oxford, but eight were now inhabited by scholars, St. Edmund, St. Alban's, New Inn, Hart, St. Mary, White, Broadgates and Magdalen Halls. House-property became a drug in the Oxford market, and colleges, both of ancient and recent foundation, took advantage of the opportunity, to make cheap purchases from the impoverished proprietors. The position of Colleges was still further strengthened in 1570, when by the interest of the Earl of Leicester the right of nomination of principals of Halls was vested in the Chancellor and his successors.

When, therefore, under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth, Oxford began to show signs of revival, it arose as an aristocratic institution; a group of colleges, holding within their gates societies under adequate control; a University, from which the old popular and cosmopolitan character had departed perhaps for ever.

NOTES.

NOTE I.

Oseney Abbey, founded in 1129 by Robert d'Oilgi. The story of its foundation is told by Leland as follows :—

'Robert Oilley had a wife caullid Edithe Forne, a woman of fame and highly esteemed by King Henry I. This Robert began the priorie of blake chanons at Oseney in Oxford among the isles that Isis ryver ther makyth. Sum write that this was the occasion of making of it. Edith usid to walke out of Oxford Castelle with her gentlewomen to solace, and that oftentymes wher in a certen place in a tree as often as she cam, certen Pyes usid to gither to it, and ther to chattre, and as it wer, to speke on to her. Edithe much mervelyng at this mattier and was sum tyme sore ferid as by a wonder, whereupon she sent for one Radulphe a chanon of S. Frideswyde, a man of a vertuous life and her confessor, asking him counsell; to whom he answerid, after that he had sene the faschion of the Pyes chattering only at her cummyng; "O Madam these are no Pyes, but so many lost soules in purgatory, that doe begge and make this complaint for succour and relief, and they knowing you to be pityfull and one that will have regard of their condition, doe direct their clamours to you, hoping that by your charity you would bestow something both worthy of their relief and also for the welfare of your's and your posteritye's soules." These wordes being finish't she replied "And is it so? Nôw de Pardieux! if old Robin my husband will concede to my request I shall doe my best endeavour to be a means to bring these wretched soules to rest." And thereupon relating the whole matter to her husband did soe much (by her continuall and frequent importunitys to him) bring the business about' —and amid "chinking rivulets and shady groves and walks encompassing it" the Priory was built.

'The cumming of Edithe to Oseney and Radulphe waiting on her, and the tree with the chattering Pyes be painted on the waulle of the arche

over Edithe's tumbe in Oseney priorie. Ther lyeth an image of Edithe of stone in the habit of a vowess holding a hart in her right hand on the north side of the high altare.'

NOTE 2.

'Three scholars went a-begging and coming to a rich man's door to ask relief, uttered their requests by prayer and song. The rich man being somewhat amazed at it, came in haste to the door and looking earnestly on them said

From whence come ye?
  From Oxford;
Are you not versifiers?
  Yea, and your servants also;

Upon which he conducted them to a well, over which on a beam hung two buckets, the one ascending while the other descended, to take up water, and said "Let each of you make two verses on the said buckets or else you shall not receive alms from me." Thereupon the scholars scratching their heads and looking wistly upon each other repeated these verses—

Hae situlae pendent dubiae, nam dum vice versa
Retrogradum fert una gradum, redit altera mersa.

Hae situlae pendent dubiae, variant vice prima
Ebria nam surgit, sed sobria tendit ad ima.

Bina rotata per haustra pericula nostra notescunt,
Sunt simul obvia, fronte ferocia, non requiescunt.'

N.B.—The author disclaims all responsibility for false quantities and false concords, and for the meaning (if any) contained in the above or any other verses, Latin or English, contained in the volume.

NOTE 3.

In 'the year 1298 there was in Oxford in the Parish of St. Peter in the Bayly a certain Clerk, who in a subterranean cellar of a Hall, which looked into the street, began according to the manner of magic art a circle with figures and other devices, which being made, he sits in the middle thereof and conjures for the Devil to come to him, and answer to those things, which he should propose. The Devil thereupon appearing in a visible form walking about the circle, the Clerk accordingly with divers orations proposed several interrogatories to him. But when the Devil by his compulsion was forced to answer, it happened that the

Chaplain or Priest of the said Parish, wherein the Clerk dwelt, was passing by the window of the lower room carrying with him the Lord's Body to a certain sick person, whom, when the Devil saw through the window, he presently at the sight of the Chaplain bent his knees with lifting up of his hands, continuing in this position, till he had passed by the place. The Clerk observing this, took special notice of it. Afterward the Clerk proceeded in his questions and discussed of several things with the Devil. At length the Chaplain returned without the Lord's Body, and passing by the same place, the Devil at sight of him bent but one knee, which the Clerk noting admired at, and adjured him to give the reason why he should bend both knees when the Chaplain went by, and but one knee when he returned. To which the Devil confessed that he was forced whether he would or not, to do it, to the end that honour might be given to the Lord's Body as it passed by, with both knees, and to the Chaplain in his return with but one, because of his reverence and that he was the officer of the Lord. The Clerk thereupon being much troubled, and concluding with himself that the Lord's Body was more master of the Devil than he, (which without demur the Devil confessed), removed him from the place, gave him his wages according to the manner, and forthwith renouncing his art and skill in necromancy burnt all his books, and repented he had spent so much time therein.

About the same time, a certain scholar after he had been labouring at his book all day, went at the usual hour to bed very well and cheerful, as scholars used to be after a good day's work. But in the middle of the night a great noise arose, whereupon his fellows that laid in the same chamber being disturbed, arose to see what the matter was, and straightway found their fellow clerk grovelling on the ground, mute and in a manner dead, whereupon a strange consternation seizing them, one of the Clerks said "Let us go to Prayers, and repeat the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, for without doubt he is possessed with the Devil.' To which proposal all agreeing and making answer to him that prayed and read, the Devil, who had possessed their brother, left him, and going down the stone steps which led to the solar or chamber, left behind him such a filthy smell that the Clerks were almost killed by it.' (Wood, *Annals*).

NOTE 4.

The most important of these feasts was that given by George Nevill, of Balliol College, brother to the great Earl of Warwick, in 1451, 'having previously performed his exercises in the nave of St Mary's

Church as the custom now is, and before was, for noblemen's sons.' 'Such entertainment was given for two days space that the memory of man being not now able to produce, I have therefore thought it worth my pains to remember. On the first day therefore were 600 messes of meat, and on the second 300 for the entertainment only of scholars and certain of the Proceeders, relations and acquaintance.' The 600 messes were divided into three courses, and the menu is given in the hope it may supply some valuable hints for 'bump suppers' and training breakfasts.

THE FIRST COURSE.

A Sutteltee, the Borehead and the Bull	Hernshaw
Brawne and mustard	Poplar
Frumenty and Venyson	Custard Royall
Fesant in brase	Grant Flanpart deperted
Swan with chawdne	Leshe damask
Capon of Grece	Frutor lumbert
	A Sutteltee.

THE SECOND COURSE OF

Vian in brase	Carcell
Crane in sawce	Partrych
Yong Pocok	Venyson bakyd
Cony	Fried meat in past
Pygeons	Lesh lumbert
Byttor	a Frutor
Curlew	a Sutteltee.

THE THIRD COURSE OF

Gely Royal deperted	Larkys
Hanch of venyson rosted	Quynces bakyd
Wodecocke	Viant in past
Plover	a Frutor
Knottys (a kind of snipe)	Lesh
Styntis	A Sutteltee
Quayles	

This very desirable young nobleman, George Nevill, was the very next year elected Chancellor by an appreciative University, and three years after that, was appointed Bishop of Exeter. 'At length he was made Archbishop of York, at whose installation there, his Feast was so exceeding great that the like was never seen or read in History, that was made by any Prelate before.'

CHAPTER II.

TOWN AND GOWN.

The Struggle for Life.

'IN the eleventh year of the reign of King John, a most unfortunate and unhappy accident fell out at Oxford. A certain clerk, as he was recreating himself, killed by chance a woman; which being done he fled away for fear of punishment, that he thought must necessarily follow. But the fact being soon spread through the Town, the Mayor and several Burghers made search after him, and having at length received intelligence in what Inn or Hall he was resident, made their repair thither; and finding there three other clerks, laid hold on them, and though innocent of the fact, yet cast them into prison. After they had remained there certain days, King John (no great lover of the Clergy) being then in his Manor of Woodstock, commanded the said three scholars to be led out of the Town, and there to be hanged by the neck "in contempt of ecclesiastical liberty." Whereupon the Scholars of the University, being much displeased at this unworthy act, they, to the number

of three thousand, as well masters as juniors, left Oxford, so that not one remained behind, but either went some to Cambridge, some to Reading, and others to Maydestone in Kent, to make a farther progress in their studies. These things being done, intelligence was immediately sent to the Diocesan (the Bishop of Lincoln), and at length to the Pope, who, having heard the matter with patience, did forthwith interdict the Town, that is, commanded all religious services to cease, church doors to be shut up, none to be buried in consecrated ground, none to have the sacrament administered to them, only at the point of death. The king also was forced in a manner to seize upon the liberties of the Burghers, and to take the Town into his hands, lest in doing nothing in the matter, he should displease the Clergy, and so consequently the Pope. Howsoever it was, the dispersion was a great stop to the progress of literature, and the more so, because that such that lived remote and beyond the seas, never returned again, but either went to their homes or to Paris. In 1213, the Town being still empty, trading low and the Burghers under interdict or excommunication, great lamentation was among them, and the more for this reason, that they found no rent coming in for their houses, and that most of the Scholars went away abruptly in their debt. At length, Nicolas, Bishop of Tusculum (the Pope's Legate) coming into England this year, the chiefest of the Burghers repaired to him at West-

minster, to obtain absolution for their offences, in presuming to hang three Clerks, to the great terror of the residue. After many entreaties and most humble supplication, they were absolved, on the condition that they perform the penance following; that is to say, that after their return to Oxford, they strip themselves of their apparel, and go barefoot with scourges in their hands to every church in the Town of Oxford, and there require of the Parish Priest the benefit of absolution by saying the fifty-first Psalm. This being their sentence, they returned and performed it in every particular, not all in one day, but in as many as there were churches, by taking for one day one church, so that they, as well as others, might dread to do such wickednesses again.

'These things the said Commonalty and their heirs and successors were to perform, because that honour and reverence might be so much the more exhibited to Clerks, by how much before they had injured and disgraced them.' It was moreover specified 'that all those that were guilty of, and convicted for the hanging of the Clerks, were to come at the command of the Bishop of Lincoln, after the interdict was released, to the graves and sepulchres of the said Clerks, barefooted and ungirt, with the Commonalty following them; and from thence carry their bodies with honour and reverence, to be buried in a churchyard which the Scholars should provide.' The Legate in his Bull, dated at Ramsey, July 1214, inflicted still

further punishment on the Town. For the next ten years Inns and Halls were to be let at half the rent that had been agreed upon by the Scholars and the Burghers, before the former left Oxford. Those Inns that had been already built at the time of the dispersion, were to be let for a further period of ten years, at such rent as the Clerks thought fit in conscience. All Halls that should afterwards be built, were by the arbitration of four Masters and four Burghers, to be every ten years ordered at a set rent, as they thought equitable.

The Commonalty were ordered to pay two and fifty shillings yearly for the use of poor scholars, to feed and refresh an hundred poor scholars with bread ale and pottage, and one large dish of fish or flesh, yearly on the feast of St. Nicolas, and in future to sell victuals and other necessaries to scholars at a reasonable price.

If any Clerk should be taken in a fault by any of the Commonalty they should not deal with him themselves, to the infringing of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, but when they had arrested the offender, they should cause him to be delivered for punishment to the said Bishop, the Archdeacon of Oxford, or his official, or to the Chancellor of the University.

The fine of fifty-two shillings imposed on the Town Mr. Anstey (*Munimenta Academica*) describes as 'the real foundation of the University; that is, of the

first benefactions assigned or bequeathed for the maintenance of scholars.' The payment of it was undertaken in 1219 by the Abbey of Eynsham, and since the dissolution of that House in the fifteenth century, the amount has been punctually paid by the Crown. In 1240, Robert Grossteste, Chancellor of the University, after inquiring into the application of the fund, issued an ordinance for its proper administration, and the result was the creation of the first University Chest, called 'St. Frideswyde's Chest.' The annual sum of fifty-two shillings formed the nucleus of a fund which included annual payments made by masters for the privilege of keeping grammar schools in Oxford, fines levied on students, and graces paid by them for the relaxation of statutes in their favour. In time, other chests were founded by munificent benefactors of the University, and called after their names, as the Rothbury, the Langton, the Turvile Chests. With moneys so procured, Alma Mater assumed the character of a parental pawnbroker, and made advances to her indigent offspring, on the deposit by them of such satisfactory security as books, missals, cups or daggers. No interest was exacted for loans, and much relief was thus afforded to scholars, who had up to that time been subject to the merciless extortions of the Jews.

In the terms of the compact enforced on the Town, can be found traces of the points of difference then already existing between City and University, and

destined to be the cause of a conflict of some five centuries duration. Advantages were taken of the Scholars by the Burghers in every way possible; squalid lodging-houses were let at exorbitant rents; markets were infested by forestallers, regrators and middlemen; higher prices were demanded from members of the University than from other purchasers; country people were hindered from coming into Oxford, and prevented from exposing their goods for sale; bread was often sour, meat putrid, wine undrinkable. Subject to the jurisdiction of 'Town,' 'Gown' found no redress in the Courts of the Commonalty. / A series of keen-sighted Chancellors soon recognized, that if our English University were to flourish, its foundation must be built on good beds, good beef, and good beer. To the attainment of these inestimable advantages their policy was unswervingly directed during a literally hand to hand struggle of a century and a half. It was not until 1353, after the Massacre of St. Scholastica's Day, that the markets were placed under the control of the Chancellor, and his jurisdiction was established. It was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the various charters and royal grants, on which the University relied for its privileges, received Parliamentary sanction. In the actual physical encounters between the Scholars and Laics, the immediate triumph usually rested with the superior numbers of the latter, but the political agitation raised by the University,

and supported by powerful friends at Court, usually converted such triumph ultimately into a victory for the vanquished. An exact register of such contentions could be kept by the dates of the University Charters. 'Whenever the contentious humour of the citizens had discovered itself, it did not only justify the prudence of sovereigns in the past in granting to the University ancient rights, but convinced those excellent princes, their successors, of the further necessity of giving greater and more unquestionable privileges.'

The defeat of the Town in these early times has however probably proved its salvation. Had the ultimate victory rested with the City, the University would doubtless have ceased to exist; the irresponsible bands of scholars and teachers would have migrated to some other spot. There were as yet no public buildings, no colleges, no special advantages for study at Oxford, to cause them to hesitate. The city apart from the University would in six centuries have lost its mediaeval importance, and degenerated into a decayed country market town; a resting place for a few drovers, instead of a city of palaces, of towers, of trees, and pleasant waters.

Oxford was well adapted for street brawls. Walls ran from the Castle eastwards by Christ Church and Merton to Eastgate, which stood in High street midway between All Souls and Magdalen; thence they ran by Broad street (then the City Ditch) and New

Inn Hall street back to the Castle. The space enclosed within them, covered with narrow, ill-drained, ill-paved streets of squalid houses, formed a suitable arena. St. Mary's Church was the rallying point of the University; St. Martin's Carfax, that of the Town. The latter of old time boasted a higher and more stately tower than at present, but this in 1340 was by the royal command taken down, upon the complaint of the scholars, 'that the townsmen would retire up there as their castle, and from thence gall and annoy them with arrows and stones.' Adjoining the East End was Pennyless Bench, where the City Fathers met to discuss public affairs. Near the church, in the four great streets, which meet at Carfax, were fixed the sites of the various trades; in St. Aldate's the Vintry and Hosiery, faced by the Fletchery and Cutlery; on the right of High Street were the Poultry, Butchery and Glovery; on the left, the Mercery, Apothecary and Spicery; Cordwainers and Mercers occupied North Gate, or the Cornmarket; Drapers the great Bayly. On the occasion of the biweekly market the streets would be crowded with country people and their stalls; fishmongers, sellers of scullery ware, meat-merchants, green-grocers, vendors of hay and wheat. At Carfax stalls of sellers of white-bread crossed the High Street; opposite All Saints Church in parallel lines stood the tables of sellers of gloves, earthenware, and ale. Vendors of straw with their 'horses and carts that bring it,' stood between East

Gate and All Saints in the middle of the King's Highway, and the sellers of hogs and pigs stood between the churches of St. Mary and All Saints on the north side of the street. The Cornmarket, Queen Street and St. Aldate's were similarly occupied.

In 1228 the Town met with further defeat. 'After a fierce quarrel in which many on either side were wounded, and the Inns of the scholars broken open, the Town was interdicted by the Bishop of Lincoln, all lectures and exercises ceased, and the bodies of such that then deceased, were buried in the highways and paths without the Town. At length the business was so composed, that the abusers of the Clerks were sent to Rome to be tried in the Pope's Court; the things that were taken from the Clerks were restored; and fifty marks were given by the Laics to be divided among the poor scholars. It was further ordered that if the like matter should happen again, the said Laics should submit themselves to the arbitrament of four masters, that were the chiefest in the University; by whose judgment the fault should be canonically punished, all manner of appeal being laid aside.' In 1232 scholars were killed and wounded in a fray with the Townsmen. Complaint was made to the King, and the ringleaders were imprisoned. Soon afterwards the Baillives, the city officials, released them without leave from the Chancellor, but the latter recaptured the offenders, and one of them, Peter de Elmlegh, was 'clapt into the King's prison.' Uni-

versity and City were again in conflict in 1235 and 1236. Thousands of Clerks were now resident in Oxford, and 'were so stout and constant in vindicating one another, that nothing that savoured of an affront went down with them, but was to the utmost avenged.'

This prosperity was, however, nearly shattered for ever by an event. which happened some two years later.

'In 1238 Otho, Deacon-Cardinal of St. Nicolas Chapel, or Tully's dungeon in the Tullianum, came into England to correct the vices of the clergy, as being sent Legate to the Pope; and coming to Oxford to visit the University, was on St. George's Day kindly received into Oseney Abbey by the Abbot and Canons thereof. To him straightway the Clerks of the University sent several presents of meats and drinks before dinner, to the end that after, they might come and compliment and render their service unto him, with all reverence that was fit to be given to such a personage.'

'But when they came (not without solemn procession) to the door of the Guest's Hall, the Porter, who was an Italian belonging to the Cardinal, spake with a loud voice after the Roman fashion (by no means fit and opportune in this solemnity) and rudely asked them their business, what they would have, and what they came for. To which the Clerks gave answer "that they might approach the presence

of the Lord Legate and offer him their devoirs," for they confidently believed that they should be received with honour, forasmuch as they had before sent in their presents. But the said Porter, speaking tauntingly to them, denied entrance with great haughtiness and scorn. The clerks, taking this for a great affront, forcibly rushed in, and those Italians, the Legate's servants, that would have thrust them back, and were ready to oppose them with their swords, they beat with their fists and staves that they then had. While these things were in doing, it happened that a certain poor chaplain of Ireland, at that time a student in the University, was standing at the kitchen door, and after the manner of a poor hunger-starved wretch, was begging for God's love some boon to relieve his hungry stomach; but him, when the master or chief of the Legate's cooks (brother to the said Legate, whom he had appointed in that office, lest poison should be mingled with his meat) heard, and not able any longer, or at least would not, endure his solicitations,—being at the same time, or soon after, that the scholars beat the Italians —took scalding liquor out of a caldron wherein some fat meat had been boiled, and cast it in his face. A Welsh clerk who stood by and beheld the injury cried out, "Fie! for shame! shall we suffer this?" and so, being not able to endure that affront given to his fellow academician, bent his bow which he had with him (for it was the fashion for secular academicians

to carry arms about them) and shot the said master or cook (whom they satirically called Nabuzardan or Magister Coquorum) through the body, dead in the place. This man being thus killed, a great noise was made in the Abbey; at which the Legate being amazed and jealous, lest the same fate should befall him, puts on his canonical cope, and locks himself up in the tower of the church. There he abode till night, at which time certain soldiers were sent by the king from Abingdon for his relief. Then coming forth and putting on his canonical vestments, he mounted the best horse he had, and was conveyed over the river adjoining, by a guide that knew where it was fordable. In the meantime the clerks, who were yet in their fury, and had searched all private places for him, ceased not to cry out, "Ubi est ille usuarius, simonialis, raptor redituum et sititor pecuniae, qui regem pervertens et regnum subvertens, de spoliis nostris ditat alienos." All which he, patiently hearing, became in policy as a deaf and dumb man, not in the least retorting to those about him to what they had uttered, but said within himself—

"Cum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori."

Soon after, he came puffing and blowing to the King, then with his Court at Abingdon Abbey, and without any demur or patience, entering his presence, relates to him and the standers by, as well as tears and sighs would permit, the great abuses that he had received

from the clerks of Oxford. The King, who received the complaint with very great compassion, sent letters immediately to the Mayor and burghers of Oxford, that they should give him a faithful account concerning the transgressions of the clerks. Then did they make close enquiry, as well of rich as of poor, great or scholars of less repute, that had a hand in the outrage, and finding out many that were guilty, clapt them up in prison, some say thirty, others eighteen, besides one of the principal actors called Odo de Kilkenny, Canon of Lincoln and Legist. Others also, that fled to Wallingford, were by command of the King put in the dungeon there and elsewhere with great ignominy, notwithstanding some of them were of noble race.

'Soon after this, came to Oxford by the King's command, the Bishops of Winchester and Chichester, who, with the Abbots of Evesham and Abingdon, meeting in St. Frideswyde's Church, suspended, in the presence of the clerks and people, the Study or University of Oxford, and forbade all service, exercises, and ordinary lectures to be performed.

'About the same time the Legate summoned together several Bishops, that were nearest to him, and in their presence did solemnly interdict the University, and excommunicated all such that had a hand in the outrage, who were not only juniors, but Regent Masters, beneficed Clerks and Doctors, nay, the Chancellor himself; which being done was soon

after published with bell book and candle in Oxford.

'The scholars therefore, seeing what was done by imprisonment excommunication suspension and the like, fled from Oxford, but being numerous and their departure noted, the King sent his Breve forthwith, prohibiting that none under pain of severe corporal punishment should depart. By this time things being a little composed, security was taken by the Sheriff of the county from all regents and beneficed clerks, to answer for all transgressions done by them against the Legate, when time should be appointed; others by mainprize given in by several persons were delivered from prison.

'The Legate in the meanwhile took his course to London, and lodged himself and retinue at Durham House, the King charging the Mayor of London to keep him as the apple of his eye, with watch and ward continually about him. To that place he summoned the Archbishop of York and all the Bishops of England by that authority, which he did enjoy, to the end that they should consult concerning the state of the Church, and reparation of the offences done to him by the clerks of Oxford. His will being performed, the Bishops stood up stiffly for the University, particularly Dr. Grosstest, Bishop of Lincoln, who, as 'tis said, did solemnly excommunicate, in the presence of the King and Legate, all those that had laid violent hands on the clerks. He and the rest of the

Bishops also alleged that Oxford was "secunda ecclesia," and one of the famousest nurseries for learning and religion in the Christian world; and now to be dealt with more severely, seeing that the scholars had already suffered imprisonment deprivation of goods and other miseries, could not but provoke them to an utter dispersion. Furthermore, to satisfy the Legate, and give him a right understanding of the truth, they told him that the difference arose from the sauciness and incivility of his servants in their actions and speech, which were so foul and gross that the clerks could do no otherwise than what they did. The Legate having heard these things with patience, and his anger a little cooled, breaks up the meeting, and after letters between him and the Pope and certain Cardinals concerning the business, ponders on the matter. At length, after the clerks had stood interdicted more than a year, he invites and summons the excommunicated to repentance, and orders their punishment to be thus performed. "That the clerks gather together at St. Paul's in London, and thence go to Carlisle House on foot, accompanied by the Bishops and the Canons of Oseney; and thence go barefooted without their copes, their mantles, and their girdles, to Durham House, where they should humbly beg mercy and pardon of the Legate for their offences." All which being punctually performed (for the Legate would never have taken it for satisfaction enough, unless many of the Bishops had

accompanied the scholars in their procession), he by his letters released the Interdict; which being done, the scholars resumed their lectures, but not in that number as before, being highly offended for the injuries they had received.'

In 1241, quarrels between the University and city resulted in the migration of many scholars to Cambridge. 'Four years later on May Day, a time when mechanicks and youths are at liberty, and consequently mischief is committed by them, a noble scholar, of good conversation, passing through the street in the evening by St. Martin's Church, certain of the burghers without any cause or fault committed, set upon and mortally wounded him. But he endeavouring to avoid them, the butchers and other people flung dirt, garbage, and stones at him, and by the time he could get to All Saints' Church door, fell down in a manner dead; so that being carried to his house, soon after expired. The Baillives of the town, who, according to their office, should have inquired after the abettors of this murder, were found so negligent in it, that they seemed to be the abettors of the malefactors. Hereupon the University were so sensibly moved that they vowed to cease from all lectures, if justice were not done, and if the like should happen in the future to retire altogether from Oxford. Reserving the body unburied, they sent accounts of the matter to the King and Bishop Grosstest. The latter despatched one of the canons of Lincoln to Oxford, there to publish in

all the churches the form of excommunication with lighted candles and bells solemnly tolling. The King, in answer to the appeal of the University, granted an important charter of privilege.' If any offence should be committed in future by a scholar, inquisition should be made by adjacent villages as well as by Oxford burghers. If a scholar should be slain by any of the burghers, the whole commonalty of Oxford should be punished for it; burghers should answer for their families, if any member should injure a scholar. The interest on loans by Jews to scholars was limited to two pence in a seven night, for the use of one pound. The Chancellor should in future have the right to attend when the quality of bread and ale in the market was assayed by the Mayor.

In 1255 a charter granted by the King at Woodstock increased the staff of city officials by four aldermen and eight associates. No regrators were allowed to buy any victuals in or about the town, as they were brought thither, nor buy anything and sell it again before nine in the morning. If any layman inflicted serious injury on a scholar, he should be committed to the castle, there to wait till satisfaction be made to the party wronged according to the judgment of the Chancellor; if, however, the citizen be merely 'saucy and forward' and the injury small, he should be imprisoned in the town gaol. If a clerk seriously injured a layman, he should be imprisoned in the castle until the Chancellor released him; if the offence be slight, he should be

committed to the town prison. Bakers and brewers neglecting orders of assize of bread and ale should be warned on the first offence; should forfeit their vendibles on the second; and should be committed to the pillory on the third. The same price for wine should be charged scholars as laics; the assizes of bread and ale should be held twice a year in the presence of the Chancellor. All houses in the town then or thereafter inhabited by scholars should be assessed every five years by a body of laics and clerks combined.

The advantages gained by the University were not calculated to improve the relations between that body and the town. A quarrel broke out in 1263, when the burghers, anxious to maintain neutrality in the war between Henry III and the barons, refused to admit Prince Edward within the gates, and forced him to go through the northern suburbs to the King's Hall in Magdalen parish. 'The loyal clerks, being shut within the town and denied a sight of their prince and their usual daily sports in Beaumont, came to Smithgate to have permission to go out, but one of the baillives being there, flatly denied them and bid them begone to their respective inns. Upon this they returned, and having got axes and fledges and other weapons, which they took by force from the fletchers' shops, came in great multitudes and brake the gate open. On this, the Mayor, Nicolas de Kingeston, and the commonalty laid violent hands on some of them and imprisoned them, and shortly

afterwards with banners displayed and in order marshalled, prepared to set upon the scholars, to beat wound and despitefully use them, before they became aware. The city force, however, being espied at their entrance into the High Street, a certain clerk ran in, and rang the scholars' bell at St. Mary's Church to give notice to his fellows, being then generally at dinner; and no sooner had the bell rung a minute, but they all left their meat, ran to their bows, swords, and slings, and gathering together fought most courageously against them, wounded many, and made the rest to fly.

'In the conclusion, the clerks, finding none to oppose them, went about the streets, broke up many houses, spoiled and took away divers goods, and did what pleased them without any opposition. At length they went to the house of Jeffrey de Henksey, one of the Provosts of the town, and burnt it to the ground. Then to the house of William de Espycer, the other Provost, and brake it up, with all the spycery itself from one end to the other, and spoiled most of the goods therein. Then did they hasten to the house of the Mayor, by trade a vintner, which place they brake up, drank as much wine as they could, and wasted the rest. Complaints were eventually made to the King by the burghers, and threats to take away the privileges of the University so disturbed the victorious clerks that many of them quitted Oxford for Northampton and elsewhere.'

Robert of Gloucester thus describes the scene.

'His way he nome (took) by Oxenford, but the burgesses anon
The gates made against him of the town each one.
He went and lai withoute towne, atte kinge's halle
And went forth amorrow with his men alle.
The gates, when he was went, were alle up brought
Soon, but Smithe gate, but that was undone not.
The clerkes had therethrough much solace ilore
To play towards Beumond, annoyed they were therefore.
The bailif they bid oft, to grant their solace,
To play and undo that gate, but for nought it was.
So that a few wild hinds a light plan therof nome,
And a day after meat with axes thither come,
And that gate to-hew and to-dashed there,
And after through Beumond to Harewell it bare,
And 'subvenite sancti' fast began to sing,
As man doth when a dead man men to pitte bring.
William the Spycer and Geffray of Henesei that then were
Portreven, and Nicole of Kingestone that was mayor,
Nome of these clerks and in prison cast,
And would not them deliver, yet the Chancellor prayed fast.
The clerks were wroth, the burgesses were so bold
And threatened to nime more, and of their wrath little told.
The first Thursday in Lent the burgesses were well fers,
And, the while men were atte meat, areared two banners,
And went them forth armed with all their power there,
To defoul all the clerks, ere they iware were.
As they came against All Halwen with power so strong
At Seinte Marie churche a clerc the common bell rong.
Those clerks up from their meat, and to Gode's grace truste,
And saw that they were shent, but they the better them wuste,
They met with those burgesses and began to shoot fast,
Iwounded there was many one, but the burgesses atte laste
They began to flee fast, them thought long ere
So that the clerks had the streetes soon clear.
The bowyers' shops they broke, and the bows nome each one
Afterwards the Portreves houses they set fire anon,
In the south half of the town, and afterwards the Spicerie
They broke from end to other and did all to robberie.
For the mayor was vintner, they broke the vintnerie,
And all other in the town, and that was little masterie.

They cast away the dosils (spigots) that wine ran abroad so,
That it was pity great, of so much harm ido.
Therefore when the king came and wist such trespas,
Alle the clerks out of the town he drove for that case
Nor before after Michaelmasse they came no more there.'

In 1268 the University came into serious conflict with the Jews, an important colony of whom had settled in Oxford soon after the Conquest. They had built houses in St. Aldate's, and when Henry II freed all Jews from the obligation of bringing their dead to London for burial, they purchased a cemetery where Magdalen College now stands. Their extortionate rate of usury, their attempts to induce young scholars to join their religion, their improper treatment of ecclesiastical plate pledged to them, and mockery of Christian festivals, soon brought them into disfavour. As early as 1180 a Jew called 'Deus-eum-crescat' was accustomed to mock at the miracles performed at the shrine of St. Frideswyde. 'Halting and then walking firmly on his feet, showing his hands clenched as if with palsy and then flinging open his fingers, he claimed gifts and oblations from the crowd who flocked to St. Frideswyde's, on the ground that such recoveries of limb and strength were quite as real as any Frideswyde had wrought.' In 1244 certain scholars broke open the houses in the Jewry and robbed them of much money.

On the present occasion in 1268, as the Chancellor and scholars, according to custom, on Ascension Day went in solemn procession to the church of St. Frides-

wyde, 'a certain Jew laid his hands on the cross that was carried before them, snatched it from the bearer, trod it under foot and brake it in pieces. Complaint was made to the King of this outrage, and by his order the Sheriff took with his hands all manner of Jews, and impounded their goods, until at their own cost they raised up "a fair and stately cross of marble, very curiously wrought with the image of the crucifix on one side, and the picture of the Virgin with her Babe on the other, both fairly gilded over," and set it in the place where the outrage was committed. Furthermore they were required to provide a portable cross of silver neatly wrought, to be delivered into the hands of the Proctors of the University, and at usual times to be borne before the masters and scholars in their solemn processions.'

Twenty years later the Jews were banished from England by Edward III, and they did not reappear at Oxford till the time of Cromwell.

Meanwhile there were frequent quarrels between the University and city, and in 1283 Robert de Welles and several burghers were excommunicated by the Chancellor, but on appeal to the King their sentence was removed, and punishment taken into the royal hands. Five years later, Welles as the King's Baillive of the hundred of Northgate, disputed the right of the University to hear and determine cases between scholars and citizens arising in that suburb; although convicted of perjury, he still continued to molest the

University, accused Masters of robbery, imprisoned the Bedells for two days, and even laid hands on the person of the Vice-Chancellor; in a word 'this crafty veterano did so confront and nose them in relation to their liberties, that they seriously vowed before Almighty God, that all scholastic exercises should cease, their school doors be closed, and their books flung away, unless he were punished according to his crime.'

The Town, on their side, complained that the Chancellor set free criminals imprisoned by the Mayor; that he appropriated to himself forfeited victuals and fines; exacted heavy bail from laymen; and extended the privileges of the University to tailors, barbers, and parchment makers. The city baillives also were compelled to take the oath to observe the privileges of the University, without putting in a saving clause of allegiance to the King. In 1286 a royal commission was appointed to inquire into the grievances of either party.

Many collisions had taken place between scholars and citizens. A clerk had met a bailiff in hand to hand conflict, and carried off his official mace in triumph; he had been subsequently rescued by force from the custody of the Mayor. Students had beaten a trader to death, and had forced a beadsman to pray for the souls of certain townsmen, whom they intended to send to their last account.

The laics, taking advantage of a quarrel between the servants of two scholars of different countries, 'who

each endeavoured to express his manhood for the repute of his race,' converted the affair into a 'Town and Gown' matter, and while the fight was in course of decision, certain of them 'that made it their profession to carry the dead to be buried in the night time, entered the halls and inns of the scholars and carried away their goods.'

Matters reached a crisis on Sunday, February 24, 1297. 'On that day the baillives of the town with many of the commonalty came in the evening to the houses of the clerks, took and dragged them thence, wounded and evilly treated them, spoiled and made havoc of their goods. Some they cast about, others that were books they tore and trampled under their feet, and then carried the scholars to prison against the custom and privileges of the University. They also arrested and imprisoned against the command of the Chancellor scholars living without the North gate. The next day, being Monday, and the feast of St. Matthias, the clerks began to gather in a great multitude, which being straightway noised among the laics, they ordered that the common bell of St. Martin's should be forthwith rung, and the cornets (or rather oxhorns) to be sounded about the streets. Hereupon a considerable number of burghers and other laics appeared, but seeing themselves overnumbered by the clerks, drew back and sent a speedy messenger into the country for help from the rustics. In the meanwhile Mr. Fulk Neyrmyt, Rector of the

church of Pychelstorne, and many others, came into the High Street about nine of the clock in the morning between All Saints and St. Mary's Church, and there with bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, slings and stones, set upon all the laics they could meet with, beat wounded and made them fly. Then went they, and broke up their shops and houses, and taking thence all goods and chattels whatsoever they laid hands on, conveyed them away. After this, when Mr. Fulk de Neyrmyt had shot away all his arrows, he, with some of his party, came to the house of one Edward de Erklawe and Basilia his wife, near to the church of St. Mary, and that house they immediately broke up, entered and took away those goods they could see. But the said Edward de Erklawe running up into his solar or upper chamber to defend it from being rifled, took his bow, and bending it with a strong arm, shot the said Fulk de Neyrmyt in the left eye, while his target slipt aside, so that immediately falling down as 'twere dead, was by some of his party hurried away to his inn or hall, where within an hour he expired.

'Hereupon many of the clerks flying, and the rest being sorely dismayed to see their captain carried away in a desperate condition, the laics without more ado fell immediately, as madmen, upon them, dispersed them into several places, and executed justice upon such that had evil-treated them. No sooner had they assaulted the scholars but a numberless multitude of

country clowns came to the assistance of the laics. Both which parties falling with great vigour on the remaining clerks, their servants and those that had any relation to them, there happened such a terrible and dismal conflict as before this time the like was never known in Oxford. Some they killed, multitudes they wounded, others they beat and kicked about the streets. Some that fled to the churches for sanctuary, and were praying at the high altar, ready with their open breasts to receive the fatal blow, them they wounded and dragged out, and caused them to accompany those they had before taken, to be driven to prison. Also if any of them halted, and made a demur to go, they whipped and pricked them forward with goads. The clerks, that escaped, fled from Oxford. Complaints were soon made by the University to the King, the clerks claiming one thousand pounds damage for their losses. The Town counter-claimed for three thousand. The Bishop of Lincoln excommunicated the laics. Royal commissions awarded a fine of two hundred marks to the scholars; the city baillives were removed from office; the burghers were compelled to swear that all the liberties of the University should be fully observed.'

The celebration of saints' days was in these days frequently the occasion of a brawl. Among other abuses which had crept into the Church was the deterioration of the ceremonies practised at these festivals into 'lecherie and songs, daunces, piping,

and also to glotony and sinne, holinesse being turned to cursydness.' Thus on the Feast of the Purification, 1297, 'Michael the manciple of Bole Hall and certain Welsh clerks, armed with swords, bows and arrows, went through the streets at the time of candlelighting and challenged all they met to fight. A laic was sore wounded, and died at the house of Ralph the chirurgeon in St. Aldates, the murder "being much stomached" by the Town.' Again, on the night of the vigils of St. John the Baptist, the tailors of Oxford were wont to keep watch all night in their shops, singing and taking their solace with harps, viols, and all kinds of music. On this anniversary in 1306, after midnight they went out of their shops and danced in the High Street opposite the Drapery. And as they were thus disporting themselves, came upon them Gilbert de Foxley with a naked sword in his hand, and would have broken up the dance. Some of them that knew him, came and wished to lead him away, beseeching him to do no hurt to any one, but he, breaking away from them, would have cut off the hand of William de Claydon, as he went in the dance. Then ran upon him Henry de Beaumont and wounded him in the hand, and Thomas de Bloxham struck him pitifully in the back, and William de Leye felled him to the earth, so that he perished.

The obnoxious claims of the Papal See, and the great wealth, pride, and luxury of the Church attracted the hatred of the Town to the University

as a nursery of the secular clergy. When about this time the number of scholars studying at Oxford again increased, the Burghers denied them entrance into the Halls and Inns once tenanted by them, but left empty after the riot of 1297. An appeal to the king was decided in favour of the University, and it was declared that such houses, as had once been dedicated to the use of Gown, should for ever be occupied by scholars, provided they paid the rent fixed by the clerical and laical arbitrators.

This spirit of antagonism to the Church was more clearly displayed in the sack of the Abbey of Abingdon in 1327. On the Monday following the Octaves of the Passover, the inhabitants of Abingdon great and small, unanimously met together at the tolling of the common bell in St. Helen's Church, and after threatening spoils and death to the Abbey and Monks, burnt the Guildhall and proceeded to attack the church of St. Nicholas. Here, however, they met with a serious repulse at the hands of certain seculars, deputed for the defence of the monastery. Infuriated at this defeat, they sent privately to the Commonalty of Oxford, asking help. This the Oxonians promised, 'the more readily because the quarrel was against men of the Clergy, for they having such men at home, and fighting continually with them, were very sensible of the condition of the Abingdonians, and did not know to the contrary, but that they might make use of their help at the next quarrel with the

clerks. Wherefore on the Lord's Day following, in the middle of the night, the whole Commonalty of Oxford, the Mayor and Baillives, accompanied by a multitude of scholars, proceeded to Abingdon with arms and burning torches, destroying on their way the manor of Northcote. Entering the town with dismal shouts, to the terror of the neighbourhood, they went to the Abbey gate, insultingly cried aloud, gave base and aggravating language, threw stones, shot arrows, and put fire to the gates. Another party went to the gate of St. John's Hospital, hoping to gain an entrance, but those that were within, stoutly resisted them till the rising of the sun. Soon after, they went to the church of St. Nicholas, and through it entered the Abbey; Edmund de la Beche, the leader of the rabble, dragged the monks from the High Altar, and cut off the head and arm of one of the senior of them. In the meanwhile the Abbot and the rest of the monks ventured to cross the river behind the Abbey, and, with the exception of some who were drowned, made good their escape.'

The treasury of the Abbey was sacked; the dormitory, infirmary, kitchen of the Abbot, and convent, with the larder and offices of the Obedientiaries were broken open and despoiled; one hundred Psalters, forty missals, a hundred graduals, twelve codes, two decretals, ten chalices, twenty white vestments, sixty copes, forty casulae; sixty little cups of gold, forty silver cups, a hundred silver pieces of plate, forty

silver spoons, two hundred dishes or platters, a hundred carcases of beef, a thousand carcases of mutton, and three hundred hogs were carried off.

On the following day the allied forces of Oxford and Abingdon to the number of three thousand, held a meeting, to which they summoned the Prior of the monastery and the few remaining monks, and made demands of them, which they dared not refuse. The matter was not to be settled so easily; complaint was made to the King; the Abbot was restored under royal protection; the ringleaders of the riot were arrested, and twelve of them hanged by the King's Justices.

On February 10, 1353, the struggle between Town and Gown culminated in the battle of St. Scholastica's Day. 'Then came Walter de Springhouse (Rector of Hameden in the diocese of Bath and Wells), Roger de Chesterfield, and other clerks, to the tavern called Swyndlestock (now the Mermaid Tavern at Quatervois), and there calling for some wine, the vintner brought them some, but they disliking it, as it should seem, and he avouching it to be good, several snappish words passed between them. At length the vintner giving them stubborn and saucy language, they threw the wine and vessel at his head. The vintner therefore receding with great passion, and aggravating the abuse to those of his family and neighbourhood, several came in, encouraged him not to put up with the abuse, and withal told him they would faith-

fully stand by him. Among them were John de Bereford, Richard Forester, and Robert Lardiner, who out of propensed malice, seeking all occasions of conflict with the scholars, and taking this abuse for a ground to proceed upon, caused the Town Bell at St. Martin's to be rung, that the Commonalty might be summoned together. Which being done, they in an instant were in arms, some with bows and arrows, others with divers sorts of weapons. And then they without any more ado, did in a furious and hostile manner suddenly set upon divers scholars, who at that time had not any offensive weapons, no not so much as anything wherewith to defend themselves.'

'They shot also at the Chancellor of the University and would have killed him, though he endeavoured to pacify them and appease the tumult. Further also the scholars, at the command of the Chancellor, did presently withdraw themselves from the fray, yet the townsmen thereupon did more fiercely pursue them, and would by no means desist from the conflict. The Chancellor perceiving what danger they were in, caused the University Bell at St. Mary's to be rung out, whereupon the scholars got bows and arrows, and maintained the fight with the townsmen till dark at night, at which time the fray ceased, no one scholar or townsman being killed or mortally wounded or maimed. On the next day, being Wednesday, albeit the Chancellor of the University caused public proclamation to be made in the morning, both

at St. Mary's Church in the presence of the scholars, there assembled in a great multitude, and also at Quarter-vois among the townsmen, that no scholar or townsman should wear or bear any offensive weapon or assault any man, or otherwise disturb the peace, yet the very same morning the townsmen came with their bows and arrows and drove away a certain Master of Divinity and his auditors, who was then determining in the Augustine Schools. The Baillives of the town also had given particular warning to every townsman at his respective house in the morning, that they should make themselves ready to fight with the scholars against the time when the Town Bell should ring out, and also given notice before to the country round about, and had hired people to come in, and assist the townsmen in their intended conflict with the scholars. In dinner time the townsmen subtilly and secretly sent about four score men armed with bows and arrows into the Parish of St. Giles in the North suburb; who after a little expectation, having discovered certain scholars walking after dinner in Beaumont, issued out of St. Giles Church shooting at the said scholars for the space of three furlongs; some of them they drove within the Augustine Priory (where Wadham College now stands) and others into the town. One scholar they killed without the walls, some they wounded mortally, others grievously, and used the rest basely, all which being done without mercy, caused a horrible outcry in the town; where-

upon the Town Bell being rung out first, and after that, the University Bell, divers scholars issued out armed, with bows and arrows in their own defence, and of their companions, and having first shut and blocked up some of the gates of the town (lest the country people, who were then gathered together in innumerable multitudes might suddenly break in upon their rear in hostile manner, and assist the townsmen, who were now ready in battle array, and armed with their targets also), they fought with them and defended themselves till after vesper-tide; a little after which time, entered into the town by the West gate about two thousand countrymen with a black dismal flag, erect and displayed. Of which the scholars having notice, and being unable to resist so great and fierce a company, they withdrew themselves to their lodgings':—

> Urebat portas agrestis plebs populosa,
> Post res distortas videas quae sunt vitiosa.
> Vexillum geritur nigrum; 'Slea,' 'Slea' recitatur,
> Credunt quod moritur Rex, vel quod sic humilietur,
> Clamant 'Havock' et 'Havock'; non sit qui salvificetur
> 'Smyt fast, give gode knocks' nullus post haec dominetur.

Thus part of a piece of poetry made in those times, concerning the said conflict. The townsmen, finding no scholars in the streets to make opposition, pursued them, and that day they broke open five Inns or Hostles of scholars with fire and sword:—

> Invadunt aulas; 'By the sun come forth' geminantes,
> Fregerunt caulas, simul omnia vi spoliantes.

Such scholars as they found in the Halls or Inns they killed, maimed, or grievously wounded. Their books and all their goods, which they could find, they spoiled, plundered, and carried away. All their victuals, wine and other drink, they poured out; their fish and bread they trod under foot. After this, the night came on and the conflict ceased for that day, and the same evening public proclamation was made in Oxford in the King's name, that no man should injure the scholars or their goods under pain of forfeiture.

'The next day being Thursday (after the Chancellor and some principal persons were set out towards Woodstock to the King) no one scholar or scholar's servant so much as appearing out of their houses with any intention to harm the townsmen, about sun rising, having rung out their bell, the said townsmen assembled together in a numberless multitude, desiring to heap mischief on mischief, and to perfect by a more terrible conclusion that wicked enterprise, which they had begun. This being done, they with hideous noises and clamours came and invaded the scholars houses in a wretchless sort, which they forced open with iron bars and other engines; and entering into them, those that resisted them and stood upon their defence (particularly some chaplains) they killed or else in a grievous sort wounded. Some innocent wretches after they had killed, they scornfully cast into houses

of easement, others they buried in dunghills, and some they let lie above ground. The crowns of some chaplains, that is, all the skin so far as the tonsure went, these diabolical imps flayed off in scorn of their clergy. Many others, whom they had mortally wounded, they haled to prison, carrying their entrails in their hands in a most lamentable manner. They plundered and carried away all the goods out of fourteen Inns or Halls, which they spoiled that Thursday. They broke open and dashed to pieces the scholars chests, and left not any movable thing, which might stand them in any stead; and which was yet more horrid, some poor innocents that were flying with all speed to the Body of Christ for succour (then honourably carried in procession by the Brethren through the Town for the appeasing of the slaughter) and striving to embrace, and come as near as they could to the repository wherein the glorious Body was with great devotion put, these confounded sons of Satan knocked them down, beat, and most cruelly wounded. The crosses also of certain Brethren (the Friars) which were erected on the ground for the present time, with a "procul hinc ite profani," they overthrew and laid flat with the cheynell. This wickedness and outrage continuing the said day from the rising of the sun till noontide, and a little after, without any ceasing, and thereupon all the Scholars (besides those in the Colleges) being fled, our mother the University of Oxford, which but

two days before had many sons, was now almost forsaken and left forlorn.'

The prime abettors of this conflict were, according to Wood, the Mayor and Baillives. So great and violent was the power of the townsmen, especially when assistance came in from the country, that it was death for a gown to be seen in the streets. All scholars, besides those of the Colleges, fled away and left the University empty and desolate. Those that remained, locked themselves up within their own gates, and spent their time, until Scholastical Acts were publicly reassumed, in prayer, lamentation, and composing tragical relations in verse and prose of the conflict. Many copies of verse there were wherein the authors gave brief narrations of it—

> 'O Rex Anglorum, quae sint tua fata, videto,
> Dudum gestorum signacula dura timeto.'

Another entitled 'Planctus Universitatis Oxon contra Laicos tempore magni conflictus'

> Plangis in gemitu,
> Mater Oxonia,
> Furentum fremitu
> Perdens praeconia.

And yet another wherein wit and fancy are showed:

> Urgent ursina vada perturbare bovina,
> Et vada dicta precis sunt vada dicta necis.
> Et vada bacandae sunt d. vada damnificandae
> O bene si radis d. caput adde vadis.

From which you must understand that 'vada Ursina' means Bersford or Bereford, and 'vada precis'

Bedeford (Bede signifying prayer) which two persons were very active in the conflict. 'But as for the last two lines I understand them not.'

'The slaughter being finished (albeit a thirst for blood still continued on the Town part) the sages or Chief Magistrates, with the Company of Regents that were remaining, gathered privately together; and drawing up a diary of these proceedings they inclosed it in a Latin Epistle written by them and sent it to the Bishop of Lincoln. The Bishop on hearing, not without grief and astonishment, the particulars of the outrage, caused forthwith letters of excommunication to be drawn up. In which, in the first place praising the University of Oxford, and then inserting the chief particulars of the conflict, he interdicted the Town, and caused the same letters of excommunication to be read in every parish Church in Oxford for several days, with ringing of bells, crosses erected, lighted and extinguished candles, by the Priests or Chaplains of the said Churches in their sacerdotal vestments and robes. The townsmen, being utterly deprived of all ecclesiastical benefit in hearing service, receiving the sacrament, burial, marriage, caused such good people that made a conscience of religion, to be full of grief and sorrow, especially when they considered if death in the meantime should overtake them.'

News of the conflict soon reached the King. By royal letters he ordered the Sheriff, Mayor, and Baillives to protect the Scholars, and afterwards

granted a commission of inquiry. The Mayor and Baillives were imprisoned in the Tower of London, and according to some reports were afterwards hanged. Both corporations, City and University, surrendered their privileges into the hand of the King, and their representatives were summoned to appear in London. The King by his letters requested the scholars to resume their studies, and by the end of the year many had returned to Oxford again.

A very large charter of privileges was soon after granted the University. The custody and assize of bread, wine, and ale, the supervision of measures and weights, were placed under the sole control of the Chancellor. To him also were granted the sole cognisance of forestallers and regrators, the correction of victuals, the power of collecting tribute from scholars' servants, and of cleansing the streets of the town and suburbs. It was also ordered that those who had robbed the scholars should be prosecuted, that the Sheriff of the county should take an oath on entering office to observe the privileges of the University, and that the Mayor and Baillives should deliver into the hands of the Chancellor, the standard of weights and measures with the seal for signing them.

The King's Council subsequently imposed a fine of two hundred and fifty pounds as damages for all injuries, except death, which had been done to the scholars.

But the punishment by the Bishop was yet to come. In 1357 when the Burghers petitioned that the Interdict he had imposed might be remitted, he only agreed to release it on the following conditions:—'The Commonalty of Oxford, every year for ever after, should celebrate an anniversary of St. Scholastica's Day, in St. Mary's Church, for the souls of the clerks and others killed in the conflict. The Mayor and Baillives for the time being, and three score of the chiefest Burghers should personally appear on the said day of St. Scholastica, and at their own charge should celebrate a mass with the Deacon and Subdeacon for the souls of the Scholars that were slain, and the said Burghers should be present at the said mass from beginning to end; and after the Gospel should be read, everyone of them should offer at the altar one penny; of which oblation forty pence should be distributed to forty poor scholars of the University by the hands of the Proctors, and the residue of the oblation should be given to the curate of St. Mary's Church. The Mayor and Commonalty at the same time bound themselves to pay to the University one hundred marks, if they should fail in the said observance.'

In the reign of Elizabeth, the ceremony was intermitted, and the University sued the City for fifteen hundred marks. The citizens answered 'that it was meant literally in the Bond of a Mass,' and that masses were against the law, which was a good

and sufficient reason of their shunning the performance of the agreement. The Queen's Council decided that the City should be discharged of the arrearages, and that for the future they should procure a sermon or communion in St. Mary's Church upon St. Scholastica's Day, offering a penny at least in the Offertory. This sermon after some years was changed into an ordinary service. 'As for the constant tradition that the Mayor was wont to attend at St. Mary's on the said day with a halter round his neck, which afterwards for worship or modesty's sake was changed into a silken string, no mention appears in record. That which favoureth anything of it, is that the scholars were wont to flock together on that day, and molest the Burghers (probably with opprobrious speeches) in their going to, and returning from St. Mary's Church, till the Chancellor threatened to punish such conduct with imprisonment.' The volume of the Oxford Historical Society on the Oxford City Documents, 1268–1665, states that 'the payment of the forty silver pennies lasted to about the date at which the Masters oaths were revised;' that 'one of the partners in the Old Bank declared that if he were elected Mayor he could not acquiesce in the ceremony. He was elected Mayor and kept his word. The University sued him and recovered a hundred marks from him, which it gave to the Radcliffe Infirmary where it is or was duly registered on the table of benefactions. It appears that the

award originally imposed an annual payment of a hundred marks from the Town to the University, which the latter excused in consideration of the forty pence, though still retaining the right to exact the larger sum in case of default or contumacy.' About 1824, the University, on the petition of the Corporation, agreed that in place of the service and payment a yearly oath to observe the privileges of the University should be taken by the Corporation. In 1854 this too was excused.

CHAPTER III.

TOWN AND GOWN.

The survival of the fittest.

ITS privileges secured for a time by the victory of St. Scholastica's Day, the University now devoted its energies to objects of wider interest, in the continuance of practical support to the longstanding national sentiment of antagonism to Papal claims and clerical ascendancy. Success had already followed its attack on Gailard de la Mota, the absentee archdeacon of Oxford. This Italian, nominated to his office by the Pope, claimed through the rapacious proctors, to whom he farmed out the profits of his post, cognisance of charges of adultery and fornication against clerks, and the probate of scholars' wills. These powers the Chancellor disputed. The archdeacon appealed to the Pope, who, in spite of protests from Edward II and Edward III, cited the Chancellor, Proctors and certain Masters to appear before him at Avignon. A protracted trial followed and it was not till 1346 that a compromise was effected. The University scored a signal triumph. To the Chancellor was allotted the jurisdiction, as well archidiaconal as academical over

all Doctors, Masters, Scholars, religious people, Rectors, Vicars, and Chaplains studying in Oxford, the six bedels, four stationers, the writers, servants of scholars and servants of writers; the Archdeacon retained merely the Probate of Wills and the visitation and correction of Rectors, Vicars and Chaplains of the Churches in Oxford and the suburbs thereof.

The close of the fourteenth century also witnessed the emancipation of the Chancellor from the control of the Bishop of Lincoln. The earliest Chancellors had been simply officers of the Diocesan, set by him over the scholars, and if they were not actually nominated by him, required confirmation of their election at his hands. Their jurisdiction over members of the University had not been exclusive, being often shared by them with such other local magnates, as the Archdeacon of Oxford, the Abbot of Oseney, the Prior of St. Frideswyde's; it was only as a matter of grace, after the humble submission of the University, that Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln in 1281, agreed to refer the trial of spiritual cases to the Chancellor. Quarrels between the University and the Diocesan were frequent. In 1284 relations between them were so strained as to require the interposition of John Peckam, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1288 the Masters presented for confirmation William de Kingscote their Chancellor-elect, not in his own person, but by proxy. The Bishop refused to admit one absent and unknown to him, and in spite of the

Masters' assertion that they were acting according to precedent, refused to confirm the election. The question was eventually decided by the King in favour of the Bishop, that the Masters were bound to present the Chancellor-elect in person not only within but without the limits of the town. Finally a composition was arrived at, by which the Masters agreed to present the Chancellor in person, if they could go to the Bishop and return without missing a lecture; but if the Bishop were in such distant parts that this was not possible, the Chancellor should be confirmed by proxy. But the quarrel was not set at rest for long. In 1294 the Bishop 'with many peevish arguings' claimed that Chancellors should properly be nominated by him, not elected by the University. In 1350 John Gynwell, Bishop of Lincoln, refused to confirm Walter de Palmorna, though duly elected according to custom and statute. Wearied with the delay, the University appealed to Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury. Their complaint was courteously received, and the Bishop was ordered to admit the Chancellor within six days, or appear before the Archbishop and show cause. He did neither the one nor the other, and Islip thereupon granted a commission to John de Carleton to confirm the Chancellor. Then followed a controversy, which was 'acted very high, not without great scorn between the Prelates.' The Bishop appealed to the Pope; the Archbishop regarding such appeal as frivolous and vexatious, cited the Bishop

before him to answer for his contempt, and on his non-appearance, promptly interdicted the town of Banbury where his chapel was situate, and he happened to be in residence at the time. After much money had been spent on both sides, the Pope decided that the Bishop of Lincoln must admit the Chancellor, if legitimately elected, at the first request; and if he failed to do so, the Archbishop should confirm the election. In 1368 William Wittlesey, Archbishop of Canterbury, sometime an Oxford scholar, representing the danger the University ran from tumults and riots arising in the absence of the Chancellor, obtained from Pope Urban V that the University might be free in future from the confirmation of the election of the Chancellor.

With the older monastic establishments at Oxford, the Austin Canons of Oseney and St. Frideswyde's, the Benedictines of Gloucester Hall and Durham House, the Cistercians of Rewley Abbey, and the Bernardines of St. Bernard's, the University usually maintained friendly relations. Differences arose but rarely, as when the religious houses complained of the low rent paid them by scholars for their lodgings, or when the Chancellor and Masters, disputing the right of St. Frideswyde's Priory under a charter of Henry I to hold a fair, proceeded to drive away purchasers, to pluck down the booths and tents and to cut the cords upholding them.

It was against the Mendicant Orders that the

University waged incessant warfare. At the beginning of the twelfth century the Dominicans invaded Oxford, and settled first in the Jewry and afterwards in Speedwell Street; soon after came the Franciscans to St. Ebbe's, the Augustinian Friars to the site of Wadham College; in 1254 the Carmelites appeared, and were eventually settled by Edward II in Beaumont Palace. Their superior learning, energy, and their vows of poverty soon secured them the popularity which the indolence of the older monastic orders, and the ignorance of the secular clergy had long forfeited. Armed with privileges from Pope and King, they confessed penitents, administered the Lord's Supper in the streets on a portable table, bestowed extreme unction and claimed the right of burying within the precincts. The churches were rapidly emptied, and the secular clergy ruined. There were also special grievances against them at Oxford. While refusing to obey its regulations the Mendicants sucked every possible advantage from the University. Statutes were early directed against them. At the beginning of the fourteenth century they are found appealing to Rome against certain recent ordinances, especially that which ordered that no one should become a Master in Theology without having become first at least a Bachelor of Arts, unless by a dispensatory grace granted unanimously by the Chancellor and Regent Masters of all Faculties; and another, removing the Vesperiae or disputations on the eve of

a new Master's Inception, and trial sermons of Bachelors of Divinity, from the Dominican Convent to St. Mary's Church. Allegations were also made by the Friars that certain Dominican Doctors had not been duly summoned to Congregation, and their votes had not been counted; and that Masters intimidated scholars from coming to the lectures of the Friars.

A difficulty arose in the attempt to serve the Chancellor with notice of appeal. 'After such notice had been published in the Church of the Friars Minor during sermon time, and the schools of the Carmelites, Lawrence de Warwyke, Proctor of the Friars, brought it into the Public Schools and attempted to read it, but was hindered entrance into them by some that were deputed by the Chancellor for that purpose. He therefore waited till the Chancellor came out, and then stepping forward, thrust the notice of appeal into the folds of his gown, upon which the Chancellor taking it from his bosom, and looking slightly at it, cast it contemptibly in the dust with displeasing words spoken against the brethren.'

'Soon afterwards there was a general congregation of Regents and Non-Regents in St. Mary's Church, in the beginning of which came the said Lawrence with a Public Notary and witnesses to the appeal, and there began to read it before them. No sooner had he opened his mouth, but the Regent Master laid hold on him and turned him and his witnesses out of the Church and shut the doors close upon him.

Seeing himself "outed" and in no likelihood of entering again, he offered a copy of the appeal at the door, and when the Masters refused to touch it, went with all the people he could gather to the South side of the Church, and there with the Notary mounting on a tomb-stone opposite to the place where the Masters were congregated, read the notice of appeal in their hearing through the open windows. Afterwards, coming to the door of the church, the proctor nailed to it a complete copy of the appeal and so departed. But while he was in doing it, several of the junior scholars, servitors and manciples gave him and his company ill language crying out "It is a sin to help you Friars; it were a pious deed to block up your doors and burn you and your impertinence together, daring as you do, wretched beggars, to move an appeal against a congregation of such reverend and excellent persons." On the representations of the University that, in view of the expense incurred in carrying on a suit at Rome, the case should be heard in England, the matter was referred to the arbitration of the Bishops of London, Worcester and Llandaff, and an award was made in 1314, under which the University Statutes were confirmed with some few slight concessions to the Dominicans.

The Mendicants still rendered themselves obnoxious. They induced young scholars to take vows and enter their orders. Richard Fitzralph, commonly called Armachanus, the University champion before the

Papal Court of Innocent IV at Avignon in 1357, declared that for fear of seduction, noblemen and commoners dared not to send their children to Oxford, and that in consequence the number of students there had dwindled from 30,000 to 3000. As he came out of his Inn that day, he had met an honest Englishman, who, the Passover next going before, had a son at Oxford of thirteen years of age 'cog'd away,' and 'having made great means to release him, could not, and was forced to come to Avignon for a release from the Court of Rome.' Statutes were enacted by the University, under which, if any friar seduced or caused to be seduced any youth under eighteen years of age, or procured his removal from Oxford with intent that he should be received into a religious order, no graduate of the cloister or society to which the offender belonged, should be allowed to deliver or attend lectures in Oxford during the ensuing year. These statutes remained in force some ten years, but were then relaxed upon the command of the Pope, and the representations of the four mendicant orders.

Another abuse practised by the Friars was to procure letters from royal and influential persons recommending them for University degrees; they would too withdraw themselves from the examinations of the University and going abroad, buy themselves Masterships beyond the seas; such men were called 'Doctores cereati,' as depending for their degrees more on the seal of their testamurs than on

their learning, or else from their avoidance of study; 'sicut a facie ignis cera fluit, sic ipsi asperitatem studii fugiunt et laborem.' At the same time they defied the jurisdiction of the Chancellor and disparaged the University course of study. Friar John, for asserting that tithes belonged more justly to the Mendicants than to the Rectors of Parishes; that the King was entitled to deprive ecclesiastics of their temporalities; and that Oxford was a school of heresy, was compelled to recant publicly in St. Mary's Church, to pay one hundred shillings to the University, and never without special leave to lecture in theology. Another Mendicant, who attacked the School of Arts, was ordered to make public apology to that honourable and profitable study.

In the same spirit of antagonism to Pope and Friar, the University supported Wycliff, the star of its schools, through good report and through evil report. His sketch of a Friar as 'a dead carcass come out of his sepulchre, bound up in funeral clothes and egged on by the devil to act among men,' was recognized with enthusiasm: his ingenious if unscientific theory that the damp and fogs of Oxford were due to the fact that 'the Mendicants laboured not as Paul did, but being inordinately idle and being commonly gathered together in large numbers caused a whole sublunary unseasonableness' was treated with due respect. From Oxford went forth those bands of poor preachers, his disciples, clad

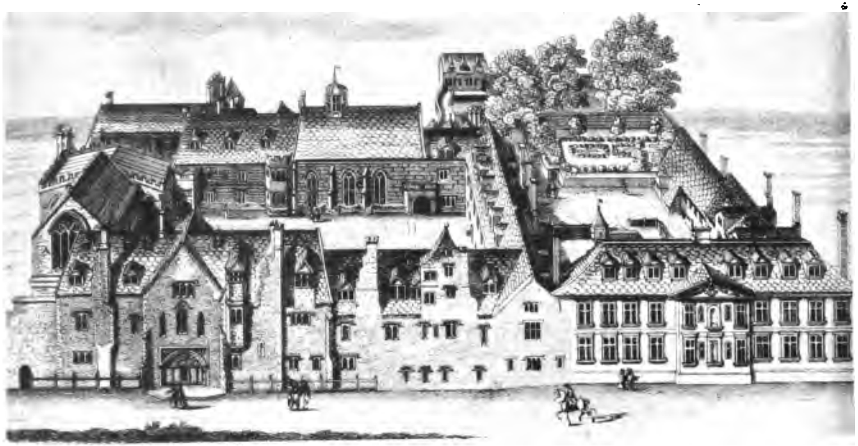
in russet gowns and armed with translations of the Bible.

In Oxford he found protection during his later reverses. When Gregory XI bombarded England with Bulls and rebuked the Chancellor 'sharply, imperiously and like a Pope,' the Proctors and Masters stood long in doubt whether they should receive the message with honour or reject it with shame, refused to obey the order to arrest the reformer, and merely requested him to remain at his residence at Black Hall.

In 1382, though Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, threatened with excommunication all teachers of the condemned doctrines, the Chancellor declared he would resist publication of the decree, and when Peter Stokys, a Carmelite, the deputy of the Archbishop, proposed to read it on the occasion of a public sermon at St. Frideswyde's Cross, the Chancellor, Mayor, and Proctors, with a band of armed followers attended, listened with pleasure to a violent sermon from a partisan of Wycliff, and publicly thanked the preacher, while Peter in fear for his life dared not venture forth from the Priory Church. At the height of the Lollard persecution, when most of the leading supporters of the movement had recanted, and John of Gaunt had thrown up the cause; when strict search was made for all writings by the heretics; when Wycliff himself was dead and his disciples were ordered to the stake, there

was no surrender at Oxford. In 1406 the Chancellor and Masters published an eulogistic testimonial to Wycliff's memory. Five years later when Archbishop Arundel, resolving to extirpate heresy, arrived in Oxford with a fair retinue, he was resisted in his visitation by Richard Courtney, Chancellor, and John Birch and Richard Brent, Proctors; the Church of St. Mary was barricaded against him; mass was celebrated in defiance of his interdict; the scholars threatened him with swords, bows and arrows. Although the insolent young men were chastised with rod and 'ferula,' the Chancellor and Proctors imprisoned in the Tower, and the Masters ordered to elect others in their place, Courtney, Birch and Brent were triumphantly re-elected, and the mediation of Prince Henry, sometime scholar of Queen's College, was needed to effect a reconciliation with the king.

The Lutheran movement never gained firm hold on Oxford. As a foreign production, it was regarded with much the same suspicion that attaches in these days to German silver and German scholarship. A few Cambridge men, whom Wolsey had transplanted to Cardinal's College, Oxford, were its chief supporters. These unstable young men, however, at the first sign of persecution, recanted, and marched in penitent procession from St. Mary's Church to St. Frideswyde's, carrying faggots in their hands, and casting their books into a bonfire as they passed Carfax. Some others were kept within a deep cave



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under the ground, until the filthy stench of their prison, and a diet of salt fish, put an end to their sufferings. Luther's works were examined and condemned by a committee of theologians, and his writings publicly burnt.

While such quarrels as these occupied the front of the stage of Oxford life in the fifteenth century, the struggle between the University and city continued to progress quietly but surely in the background. The days of violent encounters were past; following a new line of policy the city simply ignored the existence of any charters or privileges granted to the University, looking upon them as vain matters.

In 1401, the area of the Chancellor's jurisdiction was extended to the hospital of St. Bartholomew on the east, to Botley on the west; on the north to Godstow Bridge, and the south to Bagley Wood. The King also remitted the £5 paid to him annually for the custody of the assize of bread and ale, measures and weights, on condition that the Chancellor paid one penny annually at the feast of St. Michael into the exchequer.

In 1406, a privilege was granted to the Chancellor and scholars, that neither they nor their servants should be made to plead before any judge of the King for treason, felony, or mayhem committed by them in the counties of Oxford or Berks; but at the request of the Chancellor, only before the University Steward. Inquiry in such cases was to be made by a

jury, composed partly of men from the place where the crime was committed, and partly of such as were under the privilege of the University and their servants. A protest of the Mayor and Burgesses of Oxford, and the knights, esquires, and other gentlemen of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, declaring such a grant to be against law, common right, the dignity of the Crown, and the liberties and franchises granted of ancient time to the petitioners, and requesting that the letters patent might be repealed, annulled, and revoked, merely drew from Henry IV the answer 'Le Roi s'avisera.'

The old troubles about the market continued. In 1428, the Chancellor censured the Mayor, Alderman and Baillives for wresting certain vendibles from common victuallers to the damage of the public market, the detriment of the students and against due course of conscience. In 1448, a general inquisition of victuals was held before Gilbert Kymer, in his chamber at Durham College, at which all the iniquities of the local tradesmen were laid bare by the college manciples. Bakers made bread, bad both in substance colour and taste, and only gave twelve to the dozen to students, but thirteen to townsmen; brewers made beer that was weak and unfit for human consumption; fishmongers sold fish at twice the proper price, and, moreover, kept it for three or four days after its purchase, and conspired with outsiders to keep up the price. The statutes, which from time

to time fixed the prices of vendibles, were disregarded. Joanna Schoo, an incorrigible cook practising at Carfax, was convicted for selling a roast goose for eightpence, and a pigeon pie for twopence.

In 1458, one Stokys, the town bailliff, was arrested for imprisoning a scholar against the privilege of the University. The Mayor appealed on his behalf to the King at Woodstock, but the King's Council upheld the Chancellor's decision, and declared that Stokys, for this breach of privilege, must remain in prison during the Chancellor's pleasure. In the following year, the questions of the privileges claimed by scholars and others, the deliverance of scholars accused of felony and treason from the custody of the Mayor, and the correction of assaults and breaches of the peace, committed by people of the town, and others not being of the privilege of the University, became the subject of a composition. The privileges of the University, which had been limited by Edward I, in 1290, to clerks and their families, bedels, parchment-makers, illuminators, writers, barbers, and other men in the livery of clerks, were now extended to the Chancellor, Doctors, Masters, and all graduates, all scholars and clerks of all conditions, orders, and degrees; every daily continual servant of any of them; the steward and freedmen of the University with their menials; also all bedels with daily servants and their households; stationers, bookbinders, lympners, writers, pergemeners, barbers,

the bell-ringer of the University, caterers, manciples, spencers, cooks, lavenders, poor children of scholars and clerks within the precincts of the University; also all other servants taking clothing or hire by the year, half-year, or quarter of the year; taking at least for the year six shillings and eightpence, for the half-year three shillings and fourpence, of any Doctor, Master, or clerk; also all carriers and bringers of scholars to the University, or their money, letters, or any special message, or fetcher of any scholar from the University for the time of such fetching or bringing, or abiding in the University for that purpose.

'On the arrest of a scholar's servant, not dwelling in his household, by the Mayor or town officers, such person so arrested, on the receipt of an inhibition from the Chancellor, should be taken before the Chancellor by the town official, and the question there determined whether such person ought to enjoy the privilege; and if not, he should be remitted to the Baillives. In breaches of the peace, if one party were of the privilege, correction and punishment should pertain to the Chancellor; if both were laymen or foreigners then punishment should be inflicted by the Chancellor or Mayor, whichever of the two effected the arrest, but the suit of the party wronged should be heard and determined in the Mayor's court.'

Some forty years of comparative peace followed this agreement. In 1495, however, this truce was broken. One John Roys, 'a lusty son of Venus,'

constituted himself a defender of light housewives in Oxford, and on several occasions when they were arrested by the proctors, delivered them by force from custody. When hindered in these courses by a formal 'Bannimus,' he collected a band of followers from the neighbouring villages and would set upon scholars 'recreating themselves in the bordures of the University,' would attack them in their hostles, beat, and rob them of their goods.

In 1513, the Mayor, John Burke, for proceeding against Thomas Bentley of New College, in his own court, was discommoned in the following sentence: 'Quod sit discommunicatus, hoc est, quod nihil emat vel vendat privilegiato, nec privilegiatus ab eo, et hoc quoniam processit in causâ suâ contra quendam privilegiatum et ad mandatum commissarii non cessavit.'

Three years later, the Baillives, Robert Carow and John Austin, proceeded to try a privileged person, who had mortally wounded a townsman; they also resisted the Chancellor in his correction and imprisonment of delinquents, and refused to obey his mandate to impanel a jury to enquire into certain forfeitures. They were thereupon sentenced by the Chancellor to do penance in St. Martin's Church, holding tapers of a pound weight in their hands during the recital of the gospel at high mass, and at the next general procession to march before the cross of the University, with rosaries in their hands, reciting the psalm of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The town authorities

appealed to the King against this sentence, and requested him to summon the commissary and proctors before him to answer certain charges of incendiary and assault. Henry was inclined to grant this request, but was over-persuaded by Cardinal Wolsey, and when the town deputies arrived, they 'were with scorn put aside.'

In 1517, one John Heynes, a vintner and baker, who had some years before been discommoned for selling bad wine and bread, collected a band of disaffected Benedictines and Cistercians, and about the silent time of night, issuing forth at Carfax upon the proctor and his retinue, encountered them manfully. The outcries and clashing of arms caused the burghers to come from their beds with lights, and the battle was stayed. The monks were arrested and Heynes banished.

In 1518 the University surrendered its privileges into the hands of Cardinal Wolsey, and during the years next following several unimportant skirmishes took place between the Town and the charterless University, in one of which the scholars of Broadgates Hall, led on by Thomas Wynkynstay and armed with bows arrows and swords fell upon the King's watchmen and slew one, Hugh Todd.

In 1523 the Cardinal, with the help of Dr. John London, who was 'very expert and knowing' in the controversies of the University and City, drew up the famous Charter 14 Henry VIII. This was afterwards

subscribed by the King himself with the authority of Parliament. The rights of the Chancellor and his deputy as Justices of the Peace, and of the steward of the University were confirmed, and the sheriff commanded to obey their precepts, warrants, and judgments. All fines and forfeitures for trespasses, riots and other crimes and offences, all deodands and felon's goods were made over to the University. The civil jurisdiction of the Chancellor was recognized. All privileged persons might exercise all manner of buying and selling or other occupation within Oxford and the suburbs without the necessity of applying to the city and burgesses for permission. The Chancellor, with the assent of the Members of Congregation, might make statutes and ordinances to bind all and singular the inhabitants of the town, and their victuals and merchandize. 'Any sentence in any judgment, just or unjust, pronounced by the said Chancellor, commissary, or his deputy against any person should be holden good; and for the same sentence, whether just or unjust, the Chancellor or his deputy should not be drawn out of the University, or for the same be vexed or troubled by any written commandment of the King or any manner of means whatsoever, nor before the King's Commissioner, or his Justice in any Court.'

A general rebellion of the town followed, and reasons for the repeal of the Charter were drawn up, and submitted to the King. The Baillives refused to summon a jury to assist the commissary at the Court

Leet, the Mayor, to supply the annual service on the anniversary of St. Scholastica; the assizes of bread and ale were disregarded; when in 1529 the Chancellor proceeded to the Guild Hall to hold the annual court, the doors were shut in his face. The following year, Michael Hethe, the Mayor, refused to take the oath to observe the privileges of the University; bedells were despatched to summon him to the presence of Martin Lindsay, deputy vice-chancellor, but he refused to obey the summons, saying, 'Recommend me unto your master, and shew him I am here in this town, the King's gracious lieutenant for lack of a better, and I know no cause why I should appear before him. I know him not for my ordinary; if there be any cause between the University and Town, I shall be glad to meet him at a place convenient, which was assigned by my Lord of Suffolk's grace.' To a second summons he replied that he had an engagement elsewhere, and could not come. Lindsay upon this, promptly excommunicated him, adding a curse for all who should eat or drink with him.

A series of petitions were addressed by the Town to the King, setting forth the iniquities practised by the University officials and scholars. They complained of arrests by the proctors, and of favour shown to undergraduates in the vice-chancellor's court; of undue fines, and confiscation of victuals. The deputy vice-chancellor, after condemning a quarter of beef as unfit for human food, carried it off and consumed it in

Lincoln College; bedells 'extorciously' devoured oysters in St. Mary's Parish; they gathered a fine of sixpence from all brewers and innkeepers for weights, in order to provide a priest to sing or pray for the weal of the University; the commissary had struck out the mark of the lion and crown on butchers' weights and substituted 'the book with seven clasps in derision of the King's authority and his Grace's name, which God preserve.' New College and Magdalen 'baked their bread within them, and had mutton, beef, and all salt store, that is to say, salt fish, and their cloth for linens with all other necessaries of household, of their own provision, so that the town was not profited by them, but with all powers disprofited; and many Colleges used the like manner and fashion so that it was more profit to the Town, when those places were occupied by inhabitants than was now by Colleges and Halls, for they maintained craftsmen and tailors, bakers, mercers, and others.'

But worse remained behind. A series of depositions drawn up by the Town alleged that proctors and scholars broke at night time the doors and windows of the townsfolk, committed outrages, shot at aldermen, and deprived honest men of their daggers. 'Edmund Slether, one of the proctors, sat upon a block in the street, afore the shop of one Robert Jermyn a barber, having a poleaxe in his hand, a black cloak on his back, and a hat on his head,

and struck down and sore beat Robert Davis and John Robinson. As Robert Maydeman and a little lad, his brother, were coming from Osney to his house on the third day of March, past about the hour of eight of the clock at night, he met with certain scholars against St. Peter's Church in Bailley, and there they did beat him; and ere he came to Carfax there met him another company of scholars and did beat him, and there lost his cap. And so the said Robert would have taken him home, and the scholars that were in the street did put him from his door, so that he was fain to take one William Dewys, his house; and there met Edmund Slether, the proctor, going down the street with a poleaxe in his hand, and a pair of brexen journeys on his back, and a black cloak, and a skoll on his head, and there desired him that he might have his cap that he lost, and therewith the proctor did thrust his poleaxe at him, but said never a word.'

'Filledewe, a Fellow of New College, at one o'clock in the afternoon came to Carfax with a sword under his arm, and other company after him, and went thence to the house of Thomas Bradley, and said "Thou hast a club of mine; if thou wilt not deliver it, I will fetch it and make thy face like a club."'

'Certain scholars, to the number of thirteen or more, overtook Thomas Woodcock, constable of Oxford, just beyond the Tower of South Bridge, and bid him "stand, whoreson thief that he was." And they strooke at him

with their swords and clubs, and some cast stones at him, and sore hurt him upon the face, and upon all other parts of his body, so that for safeguard of his life he was fain to leap from the Bridge into the Temmes, and so swimmed, and as God would be, chanced under an arch of the Bridge, where the water was very shallow, and there recovered himself or else they had slain him.'

'Great multitude of scholars kept the streets so that no townsman, then being out of his house, but was beaten or sore wounded. The houses of William Fallyfield and Michael Hethe, aldermen, were broken down, and attempts were made to fire them. The market was hindered, and the people were fain to pack up their wares and be off.'

Such were some of the complaints raised by the Town. The dispute was maintained by petition and counter-petition till 1542, when the matter was referred to arbitration. Wolsey's Charter was repealed, and remained in abeyance until the Act 13 Eliz. c. 29 again revived it.

Long ere this, troublous times had fallen on the University; its lines were not laid for it in pleasant places. In 1529 Wolsey fell, and to the University, deprived of its patron, was submitted the question of the king's marriage 'an divino et naturali jure sit prohibitum ne frater uxorem fratris etiam mortui sine liberis ducat uxorem.' Regardless of the arguments and entreaties of Dr. John Bell and Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, of

Henry's thundering letters warning them 'not to stir up hornets,' the Juniors stood firm in their opposition to the divorce. Oxford was with them; on Lincoln College gate, where Longland lay, were gallows drawn with chalk, and little ropes of hemp fast nailed thereon, signifying that he and his party were worthy of hanging; the good wives of Oxford in their sympathy for Queen Catherine threatened the life of Nicolas de Burgo, another royal agent, and thirty of them were imprisoned in Bocardo.

At length in obedience to the King, who advised that the Junior graduates were 'unfit on account of their immaturity to be consulted in such a grand point, and that the matter should therefore be referred to the 'sad, discreet, and substantial men of the University,' the question was made over to a committee for decision, and an answer wrung out by threats and bribery to the effect that marriage with the wife of a deceased brother was contrary to divine and human law, if the former marriage had been consummated.

The next five years witnessed the death of Wolsey, the acknowledgement of the King as head of the Church and Clergy; the Act restraining appeals to Rome; and the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn. In 1534 the Act 25 Henry VIII, cap. 21, abolished the authority of the Pope in England and subjected the monasteries to visitation by royal commission. Under the Act of Supremacy the King assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England.

These changes brought the University into far closer contact with Church and State. The indistinct and distant influence exercised over it in past days by the Pope, as Head of the Church, was gone; in its place stood the immediate control of the Sovereign. The assertion of the royal supremacy was given emphasis by a Commission in 1535, the chief object of which was the removal of 'all memory of the Pope, whether in pictures, glass-windows, or sign-posts, service-books or parchments.' At the same time a crusade was directed against the old schoolmen and their writings; 'Duns Scotus was set in Bocardo'; when the commissioners came to New College they found 'the great Quadrant full of the leaves of scholastic writings, the wind blowing them into every corner; one Mr. Greenfield, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, was gathering up some of them to make therewith "Sewers" or blanshers to keep the deer within the wood and thereby to have a better cry with his hounds.'

The dissolution of monasteries and religious houses in Oxford followed. Town and University joined the general scramble for spoil. Letters to Cromwell in 1538 requested that the White Friars might be given to the Mayor, and the Austin Friary to one of the aldermen, and that the Town might have the grounds of the Grey and Black Friars. Durham College, St. Bernard's, the Austin Friary and Gloucester College reappeared as Trinity, St. John's, Wadham, and Worcester Colleges.

At the same time the property of the Colleges was

threatened by 'greedy gaping wretches eager to serve them after the fashion of the abbeys,' but here the King stayed his hand; 'Ah Sirrahs! I perceive the Abbey lands have fleshed you and set your teeth in edge to ask also those colleges; and whereas we had a regard only to pull down sin by defacing the monasteries, you have a desire also to overthrow all goodness by subversion of the colleges. I will tell you, Sirs, I judge no land better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities, for by their maintenance our Realm shall be well governed when we are dead and rotten. As you love your welfares therefore, follow no more this vein, but content yourselves with that ye have already, or else seek honest means to increase your livelihood.'

In 1549 another royal commission visited the University, and new statutes (the Edwardine Code) were drawn up. A work of unprecedented devastation followed; College libraries were 'purged'; manuscripts 'guilty of no other superstition than red letters on their fronts' were condemned to the fire; muniments were embezzled, registers lost; all altars, statues, images, and tabernacles were removed from Christchurch; the painted glass windows of New College were ordered to be pulled down, and were only respited on the representation of that society that they could not afford to put up new ones. The public treasure, which consisted of plate, jewels, and moneys, was spent, and the University chests were rifled and left

empty. Most of the scholars were driven away by plague or persecution; the schools were empty; four or five of them were bought by the citizens, pulled down, and their sites converted into gardens. The school of Arts was used by laundresses to dry clothes in.

Further attempts were made on College property, but were firmly met by Protector Somerset in the answer: 'If learning decay, which of wild men maketh civil; of blockish and rough persons, wise and godly counsellors; of obstinate rebels, obedient subjects; and of evil men, good Christians; what shall we look for else but barbarism and tumult? For when the lands of Colleges be gone, it shall be hard to say whose staff shall stand next to the door, for then I doubt not but the state of the Bishops, rich Fermours, merchants, and the nobility, shall be assailed by such as live to spend all, and think that whatsoever another man hath, is more meet for them, and to be at their commandment than for the proper owner, that hath sweat and labour for it.'

The reign of Mary witnessed a short reaction. Statutes against Papists were repealed, those against heretics revived; a visitation under the direction of Cardinal Pole again purged the Libraries, this time of Protestant books; Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were burnt in the Canditch opposite Balliol College; the body of Peter Martyr's wife was exhumed and cast into a dunghill, where it remained until in the reign

of Elizabeth, by the irony of fate, it was reinterred in a coffin with two silken bags containing the homeless relics of St. Frideswyde.

In 1558 both University and City were reduced to sorry plight; their quarrels had ceased for some time past, neither party having stomach for the fight. Many were in doubt as to the religious views of Elizabeth, 'Two religions being now as 'twere on foot, divers of the chiefest of the University retired and absented themselves till they saw how affairs would proceed.' The 'mild, gentle, not rigorous' visitation of 1558 expelled nine Heads of Houses, the Dean and two Canons of Christ Church, and a considerable number of Fellows of Colleges.

The revival of the University dates from 1564, when by a brilliant stroke of policy, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was elected Chancellor. Whatever may be thought of the pardonable jobbery he practised in office; of the somewhat narrowing effects of his administration; of the measures, by which the power of the Colleges was increased at the expense of that of the University as a body; of the compulsory subscription to the thirty-nine articles and the Royal Supremacy, which he imposed on all members of the University; during his twenty-four years of office he succeeded in dragging Oxford from the Slough of Despond into which it had fallen. In 1566 Elizabeth visited the University which had delighted to honour the royal favourite. At Wolvercote, the Chancellor

and Heads of Houses did obeisance to her, and surrendered the staves of the Bedells; nearer Oxford, the Mayor and Aldermen welcomed her arrival with an offering of a silver cup brimfull with gold. As the procession passed Bocardo and Carfax, were speeches in Latin and Greek; enthusiastic cheers greeted the Queen on her way to Christ Church. For six days the royal party underwent a storm of loyal addresses, College receptions, amateur theatricals, and learned disputations; Elizabeth was saluted with speeches in every language but her own; her replies displayed a polyglot knowledge, that might have put Babel to the blush. At her departure, the streets were lined with enthusiastic undergraduates; 'Vivat Regina' 'shivered to the tingling' sky; the very college-walls bemoaned her loss in innumerable copies of verse; on Shotover hill, the last limit of the University, the Princess turned her face toward Oxford; 'Farewell! my worthy University; farewell my good subjects there; farewell my dear scholars; may God prosper you in your studies; Farewell, farewell.'

This visit was the forerunner of favours to come. In 1570, 'for the great love and favour that the Queen's most excellent majesty bore towards her Universities, and for the great zeal and care that the Lords and Commons of Parliament had for the maintenance of good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth,' the 'actus benedictus' of Sir Edward Coke was passed. By it the University was

incorporated; the Chancellor and his successors for ever, the masters and scholars of the University, were invested with the rights of perpetual succession in fact, deed, and name; all ancient privileges, liberties and franchises of the University theretofore granted, ratified, and confirmed by the Queen's Highness and her most noble Progenitors, among them being specially mentioned the Letters Patent, 14 Henry VIII, were ratified, stablished, and confirmed, provided always that the act should not extend to the Prejudice or Hurt of the Privileges of right belonging to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the City of Oxford. By this statute, privileges and customs, some of which were of so high a nature that the power of the Sovereign to grant them by Charter had been declared invalid, now received Parliamentary Confirmation. Of the ancient rivals, Monks, Jews, Friars, University, and City, the two latter alone remained. The victory of the University was complete. The jurisdiction of the Chancellor's Court, although narrowed down from the wide limits laid down in the Charter of Henry VIII, extended to all cases, wherever arising, in which a resident member of the University was defendant; criminal clerks were brought up for trial before the Vice-chancellor as Justice of the Peace, or in cases of felony, mayhem, and treason, before the Steward of the University. Privileged persons claimed exemption from the payment of city dues, and the performance of city duties. The control of the market had passed

away from the Town. The monopoly of the old trade guilds was broken down; strangers were allowed to trade with the University, and privileged persons engaged in any handicraft or profession, independent of the city jurisdiction, without admission by the corporation. The University claimed the exclusive right to grant licences to booksellers, bookbinders, leather-sellers, and innkeepers, 'infra precinctum Universitatis,' to regulate the price of beer, and the days of brewing, and the price and weight of bread. In matters that concerned the good government of the University, the Chancellor was empowered to make bye-laws to bind the City; he inspected the cleansing of the streets, and regulated the building operations of the Town. In the words of Mr. J. R. Green, 'the University found the City among the first of English municipalities, and it so utterly crushed its freedom, that the recovery of some of the commonest rights of self-government has only been brought about by recent legislation.'

CHAPTER IV.

STUART OXFORD.

UNTIL the seventeenth century, Oxford consistently avoided active partisanship in civil war. A position of neutrality was maintained during the wars of Henry III and De Montfort, which the quarrel between clerks and laics, in 1263, alone disturbed. In June, 1312, notwithstanding the exhortations of the Earl of Pembroke, scholars and townsmen alike refused to interest themselves on behalf of Piers Gaveston, and a few days later beheld without emotion his headless corpse, as it was borne to the Dominican Convent.

In 1318, in a more difficult position, they acted with promptitude and dexterity. In that year 'a certain transcriber of beautiful countenance, and trained up in the learning of the University,' Powderham by name, openly asserting that he was the rightful heir to the throne, took up his residence in the King's Palace, in company with a dog and 'a cat that was his familiar spirit.' On

being interviewed by the Mayor, he stated that he was the son of the late King, that in his infancy the Queen's nurse had carelessly dropped him into the fire, and dismayed at his injuries had substituted for him the present King, who was really a son of the Royal housekeeper. Dissatisfied with this explanation, and finding the claimant to be 'stiff in his folly,' the townsmen tied him on horseback, and sent him to the king at Northampton, where he was subsequently hanged, drawn, and quartered.

In 1326, the students defended Smith Gate, against the forces of Mortimer, but soon after, Queen Isabella is found lodging at the White Friars, and the Burghers, to be sending meats and drinks to Mortimer at Oseney.

In 1400 divers nobles who plotted to slay Henry IV at a tournament at Oxford, were hanged, drawn, and quartered in the Green Ditch, without the North gate, and their heads distributed throughout the country.

During the wars of the Roses the same line was followed. A guard was appointed to defend Oxford against an assault by the Yorkists, in 1450, but subsequently, when Edward IV gained a temporary advantage in the struggle, his claims to the throne were not disputed. In 1470 a letter of congratulation to Henry on the recovery of his kingdom was entered in the University Register; but a few months after, the results of Tewkesbury and Barnet rendered

necessary the transcription, on the opposite page, of a loyal address to Edward on the satisfactory termination of the war.

Richard III in 1483, was welcomed to Oxford with demonstrations of the warmest attachment, but a message of due devotion was prepared for Henry VII, when the result of Bosworth field was known.

In 1486, when 'a certain poor priest, named William Symonds, contrived that a pupil of his, Lambert Simnel, of crafty wit and comely presence, should be vulgarly reported to be Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, and rightful king, the said William Symonds was promptly arrested, and compelled to confess that Simnel was but the son of a certain organ-maker of the University, whom he had seduced by flattery.'

But now all was changed. The position of diplomatic but discreditable neutrality of past times was abandoned. Identifying herself with the royal cause, Oxford became the stronghold of the Stuarts; for more than a century the mainstay of their hopes in England through success and defeat.

Some time before the actual outbreak of the Great Rebellion were signs abroad of approaching disaster. Wild rumours hinted at attempts by Papists to blow up Oxford; conventicles multiplied, and the voice of the Puritan was heard in the streets; when 'at the salute of Flora, a Maypole was set up in Holywell, and a Puritan wood-stealer represented in effigy



CARFAX CONDUIT, ERECTED 1616; REMOVED TO NUNEHAM PARK 1787.

thereon,' converted students of Magdalen Hall and New Inn hauled it down amid the protests of the merry-makers. Quarrels raged between a loyal University and a hesitating city; at Carfax, day and night, stood groups of excited townsmen, eager to embrace the 'novelties and reports of the affairs of the nation that hourly came from London.' Riots between them and the undergraduates recalled the days of Edward III; again the bell of St. Martin's summoned the forces of the town; the Proctor himself was hooted and stoned; all the efforts of the Mayor, and Baillives, were required to stay the tumult. Then as war became more and more inevitable, came royal requests for loans of money; a vote, in answer, of all the wealth that lay in Savile's, Bodley's, and the University Chests; and the peremptory orders of Parliament, to the Heads of Houses, that they forthwith cease from such wicked courses, and place their plate and money in security. On August 9 the royal proclamation for the suppression of the Rebellion issued, and rumours reached Oxford that Parliamentary forces were on the march to seize Banbury and Warwick. A volunteer force of scholars, some three hundred strong, under the command of Dr. Pinke, Warden of New College was hastily formed, paraded in New College and Christ Church quadrangles, and skirmished 'in very decent fashion in the New Parks.' Timber logs blocked the way over Magdalen Bridge; loads of stones were carried

to the top of the tower to hurl down on enemies entering the town; Smithgate was fortified with posts and chains; a crooked trench in the form of a bow crossed the highway, at the end of St. John's College.

On August 28 Sir John Byron with a troop of Royalist horse entered the city and stayed till September 10, when he departed accompanied by a considerable number of scholars.

Two days later a Parliamentary force under Colonel Goodwin appeared, to be followed on the 14th by Lord Say the new Parliamentary Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire. The fortifications made by the scholars were destroyed; a search was directed in the colleges for plate and ammunition, and all Popish books and papers were burnt in the street. The troopers pastured their horses in Christ Church meadows, admired at the beauties of Halls and Colleges, and marvelled 'how the scholars could go to their books for the painted idolatrous windows in the Cathedral.' On their departure, September 27, as they passed down the High Street 'the old Mayor gave them wine very freely, and going by St. Mary's Church one of them discharged a brace of bullets at the stone image of our Lady over the porch, striking off her head and that of her child. Another fired at the image of our Saviour over All Souls Gate, and would have defaced the whole work, had not the citizens protested.'

About a month later the King, attended by Prince

Rupert, Prince Maurice, and his sons Charles and James, marched through North Gate, fresh from Edgehill, with some sixty or seventy colours captured from the rebels. Steps were taken to disarm the citizens and to fortify the place. The situation of Oxford was apt for defence, being placed within the river Isis on the west, and Cherwell on the east, both meeting on the south side. These rivers were so ordered by locks and sluices that the city could be surrounded by water on three sides. On the north, according to a plan of fortification drawn by Rallingson, a B.A. of Queen's College, were built many strong bulwarks strongly set with palisades and deep ditches. The University Bellman summoned all privileged persons, that were housekeepers, to send some of their family to dig at the works; citizens were told off to work at bulwarks to the north of St. Giles' Church; all scholars over sixteen were required to work at least one day a week, or pay a fine of one shilling.

Arms and ammunition were stored in New College tower and cloisters; corn was laid in the law and logic schools, victuals in the Guild Hall, clothes of soldiers in the music and astronomy schools; gunpowder was made at Oseney Mill; a mint was set up at New Inn, whither all the colleges were ordered to send their plate. Lectures ceased, the lecturers became recruiting sergeants; gown gave way to military coat, square cap to helmet; 'Minerva disappeared from Oxford to reappear as Pallas.'

In July, 1643, Queen Henrietta Maria joined the King, and held court at Merton College. The Royal Parliament sat, the Lords in one of the schools, the Commons in the Convocation House. Sittings of the Law Courts were held by the Lord Keeper and one of the Judges.

The chief events of the year 1644, so far as Oxford was concerned, were a slight skirmish between the Royalists and the forces of Essex, as the latter moved from Abingdon over Sandford Ferry through Cowley and over Bullingdon Green towards Islip; the defeat of Waller by Rupert at Cropredy Bridge; and a great fire 'occasioned by a foot soldier roasting a pig he had stolen,' which destroyed three hundred houses in the town.

In 1645 the royal horse were defeated by Cromwell at Islip. From May 22 to June 5 Oxford underwent a siege of fifteen days. Fairfax was stationed at Marston, Cromwell at Wytham and Major Browne at Wolvercote. On June 14 was the battle of Naseby, and during the winter which followed, Oxford again became the head-quarters of the King, Rupert, Maurice, and the remnant of the defeated Royalists.

On May 1, 1646, Fairfax commenced the second siege, two days after the King had left the town in disguise. The Royalist cause was lost; Woodstock manor house surrendered; Banbury also. On June 20 the terms Fairfax offered were accepted; the ancient government of the city and University, their privileges

and possessions were secured to them ; churches and colleges were preserved from defacement and spoil. Then on June 24 'the garrison, some three thousand strong, marched out about twelve of the clock, colours flying and drums beating, over Magdalen Bridge, by St. Clement's, towards Shotover, through a guard of the enemy, without receiving injury or affront.' Oxford was left to the mercy of the Parliamentarians, treasure and plate gone, books embezzled, scholars demoralized, halls and colleges ruinous.

The University, however, still showed itself capable of a stubborn resistance. On May 1, 1647, 'by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the visitation and reformation of the University, twenty-four visitors were appointed to enquire *vivâ voce* by oath, concerning those who 'refused to take the solemn League and Covenant or the Negative Oath, and to obey the Parliamentary Ordinances concerning discipline, and concerning all that took up arms against the Parliament.' A citation of May 15 ordered the Heads of Houses to appear before the visitors in the Convocation House on the 4th of June between nine and eleven o'clock in the morning. On the day appointed the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Fell, the Doctors and Proctors were duly in attendance from nine to eleven, but the visitors being detained at St. Mary's Church by a lengthy sermon, did not put in an appearance till some few minutes after eleven, by which time the Heads of Houses had quitted the Convocation

House. The scene is described by Wood; 'To prevent all cavil the Vice-Chancellor, when he perceived it to draw towards eleven, sent a command to the University clerk that he should be careful to observe the sun, and see that his clock kept pace with it exactly. When the clock struck eleven the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors and Proctors being in the Apoditerium, entered immediately into the Convocation House, and there declared by the mouth of one of the Proctors, that 'whereas they had been cited to appear there that day between the hours of nine and eleven, they had obeyed, and because the time limited had then expired, they held themselves not obliged to further attendance.' Whereupon the Vice-Chancellor gave command that they should every man repair home to their several colleges. In their return, as the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors were marching in a full body with the Bedells before them, they met the visitors in the Proscholium by the Divinity School door, where the passage is somewhat narrow. Upon this, one of the Bedells, a bold fellow, called to them 'Room for Mr. Vice-Chancellor,' upon which they were pleased to deny themselves and gave the way. The Vice-Chancellor very civilly moved his cap to them, saying 'Good morrow, gentlemen, 'tis past eleven of the clock,' and so passed without taking further notice of them. Upon this, there followed a great hum from the scholars, and so they parted, they holding on to their place of visitation and the scholars to their dinners.

They sat about an hour that day accompanied by freshmen and boys, and met several times after, but what they did, and how they put off the time, I know not, neither was it known by any then, because few or none of any standing took heed of them.' The visitation actually commenced on September 29, by which time additional powers had been conferred by Parliament on the visitors. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Fell, when summoned before the visitors, refused 'to appear before such inconsiderable persons.' Heads of Houses, when ordered to bring all statutes, registers, and documents relating to the government of their respective Colleges, declined to acknowledge the authority of any visitor but the King, or those sent immediately by his Majesty. The clerk of the University declared himself unable to surrender the keys of the Schools and Convocation House; the Bedells stated that their staves were in the custody of the Vice-Chancellor. The orders of the London Committee, who now intervened, and passed sentence of deprivation upon several Heads of Houses, Canons of Christ Church, the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, were disregarded; notices placarded in public places 'were plucked down by the juniors, torn in pieces, and cast into the dirt with scorn.'

At length in the spring of 1648 the visitation 'which had been for some time the sleeping lion began to rouse itself.' Fairfax ordered the military to be in readiness to carry out their orders, if necessary. A

full guard of musketeers proceeded to Christ Church, where they broke open the Dean's lodgings, and left a garrison in possession. On April 11 the Earl of Pembroke, the Chancellor, arrived. He was saluted by the scholars with groans and curses, and such as had gone out of Oxford to meet him were hissed and hooted. On the following days, the work of ejectment was thoroughly carried out. At Christ Church Mrs. Fell still kept possession of the Dean's lodgings; although the doors had been broken down with hammers and sledges, and the guard of musketeers in possession of the house had endeavoured to drive her out with ill-language and coarse tobacco, this heroic woman refused to quit. Pembroke now requested her to depart, saying that in so doing she would do God and her country good service; on her refusal, he gave her very ill-language; the soldiers seized upon her children and certain gentlewomen staying with her, and carried them on boards into the quadrangle; Mrs Fell herself was then removed in a chair, protesting 'that she doubted not to come thither hereafter upon her own legs again.'

The Buttery Book was sent for, the name of Dr. Fell erased, and that of Reynolds substituted. The like proceedings went on at other Colleges. Ten Heads of Houses were ejected; professors and canons of Christ Church shared the same fate.

Subsequently all members of Colleges were required to give an answer to the question, 'Do you submit to

the present visitation?' Some four hundred who replied in the negative were expelled from the University[1].

Until the Restoration the University remained under the government of successive Boards of Visitors, who strove to introduce Puritan regulations in matters of religion and discipline. Undergraduates were required every Sunday to give an account, to some person of ability and piety, of the sermons they had heard, and their attendance at other religious exercises. Pupils were ordered to repair to their tutor's rooms every night between seven and ten o'clock for private prayer. Heads of Houses catechized the members of their societies every Saturday between five and six. All monuments of superstition, figures of prophets, apostles and saints, scripture history in glass and crosses were destroyed or defaced. 'Christ Church were great losers, through the violent zeal of one of the canons, Henry Wilkinson, who tore down the painted windows of the Cathedral and stamped furiously upon them.'

'The Spectator,' No. 494, contains an account of the examination for a demyship at Magdalen College, as conducted in these distressful times. The Candidate 'according to custom waited on the President, Dr. Thomas Goodwin. He was received at the door by a servant, who was one of that gloomy generation that were then in fashion. He conducted him with great silence and seriousness to a long gallery, which

[1] See note 5, p. 166.

was darkened at noon-day, and had only a single candle burning in it. After a short stay in this melancholy apartment, he was led into a chamber hung with black, where he entertained himself for some time by the glimmering of a taper, until at length the head of the college came out to him from an inner room, with half-a-dozen night caps upon his head, and religious horror on his countenance. The young man trembled; but his fears increased, when instead of being asked what progress he had made in learning, he was examined how he abounded in grace. His Latin and Greek stood him in little stead; he was to give an account only of the state of his soul; whether he was of the number of the elect; what was the occasion of his conversion; upon what day of the month, and hour of the day it happened; how it was carried on, and when completed. The whole examination was summed up with one short question, namely, whether he was prepared for death. The boy, who had been bred up by honest parents, was frighted out of his wits, so that upon making his escape out of this house of mourning, he could never be brought a second time to the examination, as not being able to go through the terrors of it.'

Scholars were ordered to conform themselves in their habit and hair to the statutes of the University, to forbear all excess and vanity in powdering their hair, wearing knots of ribands on their clothes and in their hats, walking in boots and spurs; they were

forbidden to keep hounds and horses. On May Day the Visitors, Mayor, and the well-affected of the University and city joined in a crusade against young people that followed the games; garlands were broken, fiddles taken away from the musicians, and the Morris Dancers dispersed; the custom of wearing green boughs in the hat, or placing them over doors, was condemned as superstitious and heathenish. All traces of monarchy were obliterated, 'such as the King's arms in public places, his arms and head on common signs belonging to inns and alehouses;' Bradshaw, Master of Balliol 'called for the Grace (which hung in the College Hall pasted on a wooden board) and dashed out the name of the King and Queen, and commanded that thenceforth no memory should be made of them either in the Grace in Hall or Prayers in Chapel.'

In 1649 Cromwell and Fairfax, paid a state visit to Oxford, lodged at All Souls, and played bowls on Magdalen College Green. Honorary D.C.L. degrees were conferred on both, and from 1650 to 1657 Cromwell acted as Chancellor.

But notwithstanding, the suppressed loyalty of the University was continually breaking out. 'On May 29, 1648, the Prince's birthday, New College made a bonfire on the mount in the college walks after nine of the clock at night; also Trinity; the doors were barred and entrance refused to the soldiers.'

In July the same year there was a conspiracy to

seize on the soldiers of the garrison at Oxford, while they were at their devotions, and to capture the magazine at New College. The plot was, however, discovered; one of the conspirators stood in the pillory, and had his ears clipped; another after being imprisoned and tortured in New College made his escape; two others were led away to be hanged on a sign post at the Catherine Wheel Inn near Magdalen Parish Church, but were reprieved at the last minute.

Loyalist medals were worn by the scholars; 'on one side was the effigy of an altar with "P. M. Acad. Oxon 1648," and on the reverse "Deo Ecclesiae Principi Victima." At the same time also were the words weaved in black ribbon with silver and gold letters, and commonly worn in hats by scholars and others, but so distasteful was it to Cheynell (one of the Visitors) that seeing a scholar going out of St. Mary's Church door before him with a bunch of it, tied in his hat, did with great fury snatch his hat from his head, pull the ribbon thence with disdain, tear it in pieces, and throw back the hat to the scholar again.'

Undergraduates were frequently expelled for drinking the King's health, standing up bareheaded; and for breaking in on, and disturbing the religious meetings of Independents and other sectaries. The defences of Oxford on the north side were destroyed, and the castle dismantled, lest the Royalists should again make it their headquarters.

The death of Cromwell was a signal for the outbreak of these latent feelings. 'When Richard Cromwell was proclaimed before St. Mary's Church door, the usual place where Kings have been proclaimed, the Mayor, Recorder, Town Clerk, &c., accompanied by Colonel Unton Cooke and his troopers were pelted with carrot and turnip tops by young scholars and others.' Puritans looked discontented, 'plucking their hats over their eyes,' seeing their time had come. 'The common people hugged themselves up with the thoughts of a King and enjoyed their sports, especially May games, more this year than hath been since.' The Restoration of May 29, 1660, was hailed with bonfires and great rejoicings. A new set of Visitors re-instated the expelled Royalists; tokens of monarchy lately defaced were restored; all statutes and regulations in force before the Commonwealth were re-established.

The manners of the Court of Charles II penetrated to Oxford. Coffee houses and College Common rooms sprang up; the taste for drink, which dated from the reign of James I, was developed and encouraged. 'At a dingy, horrid, scandalous alehouse over against the college, Balliol men by perpetual "bubbeing" added art to their natural stupidity to make themselves perfect sots.' A Christ Church student is found dead upon his bed 'a brandy bottle in one hand, the cork in the other.' In 1675 Cornelius Van Tromp, the famous Dutch Admiral visited

the University. 'He insisted on having salt meat, and declined the Doctor's Degree offered to him, thinking, as a seaman, that title to be out of his element. Speed, of St John's College, M.D., stayed in town on purpose to drink with him, and gained a greater victory over the Dutchman than all the sea-captains in London; for one evening mustering up five or six more, as able men as himself at wine and brandy, he got Van Tromp to the Crown Tavern, and there so plied him with both that at twelve at night, they were fain to carry him to his lodgings.' 'When the Mermaid Tavern broke, the Christ Church men were blamed, their ticks amounting to £1500. Charles II twice visited Oxford, but no increase of propriety seems to have resulted from the royal visits. Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, brought up her son, Charles Fitzroy, a "very kockish idle boy" to hand him over to the Dean of Christ Church, and before her departure sat at least an hour in her coach that everybody might see her.' The free manners of the time found entrance even into Christ Church; Benjamin Woodruffe, a Canon, 'stood with a lady in the great window next the quadrangle, and was seen by Mr. Dean and almost all the House toying with her most ridiculously and fanning himself with her fan almost all the afternoon.'

Discipline was totally disregarded. On one occasion a company of players, who had not taken as much money as they had expected, went through the

town at night and broke the windows. At the election of Anthony Hall as Mayor, the scholars hissed and flipped the townsmen on the cheek, upon which a fight ensued, and a student of Brasenose College had his arm broken. On the election of a town clerk, Lord Norris and Brome Whorwood, member for Oxford City, fought. Brome brought an action for battery, and his lordship one for 'scandalum magnatum' against Brome for calling him 'a young fool.' The age was one of reaction after the strict discipline of the Puritans.

Towards the end of the reign of Charles II the University showed its sympathy with the Duke of York during the trying times of the alleged Popish Plot of 1678 and the Exclusion Bill of 1681. In 1682 'bonfires were made in several parishes by the Tory party after supper, for joy that Lord Norris was made Earl of Abingdon, with the ringing of bells. Several colleges had bonfires, All Souls especially. About eleven at night they brought out a barrel of beer from the cellar, and drank it in healths on their knees to the Duke of York and Earl of Abingdon, out of the buckets that hung up in the Hall. They got about twenty of the trained bands of Oxford, who discharged at the drinking of every health; they had wine in great plenty from the tavern over the way, guarded by a file of musketeers; they had a drummer that beat round the college quadrangle and at the gate.'

On July 21, 1683, after the discovery of the alleged Rye House Plot, the University of Oxford in Convocation 'condemned certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, as destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government and of all human society'; and passed their celebrated decree of non-resistance. At the same time Corpus College caused the name of the Duke of Monmouth, which he had entered in the college buttery book, to be erased. On September 9, Thanksgiving Day, the city had entertainment of wine, music, a barrel of ale and a fire at Penniless Bench; in a pump below the Star Inn was a tub set and 'Presbyter' therein preaching; 'all the smart lads of the city marched down the streets with cudgels in their hands crying for the King, and the Duke of York, and all the people had "York" in their mouths, and his health was drank publicly at most Halls after dinner.'

On the accession of James II the University raised a troop of horse headed by Dr. Ailworth, Chancellor of the diocese, to help the King against Monmouth, and after the victory of Sedgemoor, bonfires were built at Carfax, the Mayor and brethren proceeded in state to hear prayer at St. Martin's Church, and entertained with wine and biscuits the Earl of Abingdon and the officers of militia. But all these expressions of loyalty went for nought. James rode roughshod over the privileges of the University, created Massey, an avowed Papist, Dean of Christ

Church and Obadiah Walker, Master of University; disregarded the election of Hough by the Fellows of Magdalen, and thrust on them his nominee, Parker, Bishop of Oxford. The result of this conduct was the acquiescence of the University in the Revolution of 1689, as a necessary evil; its cold but courteous attitude towards William III; and the control of its inherent Jacobitism till the latter years of Queen Anne.

CHAPTER V.

JACOBITE OXFORD.

Of all the days that's in the year,
The tenth of June I hold most dear,
When our white roses will appear
  For sake of Jamie the Rover.

And here's the flower I love the best
  The rose that's like the snow.
Song of the White Rose.

ON the death of Queen Anne, Oxford maintained without hesitation its allegiance to the House of Stuart. No other course was open to the descendants of those who had shed their blood in the defence of the city for King Charles, and had sacrificed their career at the University rather than abjure their connection with the defeated monarch. Nor had the behaviour of William III been calculated to obscure these glorious traditions; he paid but one visit to Oxford, and then returned the courteous reception and sumptuous banquet prepared for him by the insulting suggestion that the refreshments contained poison.

As early as 1700, Speaker Onslow remarks on the



ANTIQUITY HALL, A TAVERN MUCH FREQUENTED BY THOMAS HEARNE.

growing disloyalty of the University, which drove many men of rank abroad for their education. Political feeling ran high through the reign of Queen Anne. Libels and squibs were scattered broadcast. In 1706, the Tories set up a weathercock with the Queen's motto 'semper eadem' and the translation 'worse and worse.' Hearne, the Jacobite antiquarian of Oxford, makes the following entry in his diary on March 1, 1707, 'On the 30th of January last was an abominable riot committed in All Souls' College, Mr. Dalton, M.A., and Mr. Talbot, son of the Bishop of Oxford, B.A., both fellows had a dinner drest at twelve o'clock, part of which was woodcocks, whose heads they cut off in contempt of the memory of the Blessed Martyr. At this dinner were present two of the proproctors, of Oriel College, Mr. Ibbetson and Mr. Rogers, to their shame be it spoken, both low church men. 'Tis to be noted that this Dalton, an empty fellow, is one of those whom the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison, put into the society. He was for having calves heads but the cook refused to dress them.' A few years before, when Mr. Evans of St. John's College 'a clergyman of doubtful character' preached a thanksgiving sermon, Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, remarked 'that he was glad there was one, even in Oxford, that would speak for King William.' No one, however, could be found in Oxford willing 'to print a thing so scandalously partial against the Church of England.' In July

1707, Hearne records the trial at the assizes of an Irish gentleman, Mr. Dugain, for saying 'If there be any hell, he believed King William's soul to be in it.' In 1710, Dr. Sacheverell, after his triumphant trial in Westminster Hall, visited Oxford; he was received with welcome and magnificent entertainment by the Earl of Abingdon, Mr. Charles Bertie, Fellow of All Souls, Mr. Rewney, member of Parliament for the city, the Vice-Chancellor and most members of distinction in the University; crowded receptions were held, at which amid loyal toasts of 'Queen' and 'Church' the champion of non-resistance was congratulated; a snuff-box was presented to him, from which the highly-favoured were allowed to take a pinch; 'upon it was a representation of the Royal oak in silver, under which was inlaid a lid of the very wood of the tree, that was the refuge of King Charles II, with the motto 'Sacra Iovi quercus;' on the bottom upon a plate of silver upon a piece of the same wood, was inscribed 'Passive obedience and non-resistance restored Ann. 1710.' As an answer to this demonstration, the House of Lords caused the University decree of 1683, in favour of passive obedience and non-resistance, to be burnt by the common hangman, in company with a copy of Sacheverell's sermons. In 1713, political agents were canvassing for James III, and the Mayor and corporation of Oxford were exhorted in an anonymous letter to show their constant loyalty to the House of Stuart, and proclaim King

James III their lawful king; the queen was alleged to have given leave to the French ambassador to raise a regiment of 1000 men in England for the king's guards to attend him at his landing, and 700 were said to be already enlisted and quartered in Southwark.

Tory efforts were however unavailing; on August 3, 1714, Queen Anne died, and the following day the Elector of Brunswick was proclaimed king, at Carfax and before St. Mary's, to the disappointed Oxonians; the attendance of masters and doctors at the solemnity was very small; there was very little rejoicing or illumination of houses. The Mayor, who had been cautioned in a letter, signed 'Legion for we are many,' against proclaiming any king but James III, went through the form of offering a reward of £100 for the apprehension of 'a person in an open-sleeved gown and a cinnamon-coloured coat,' who was supposed to have been the bearer.

Oxford now became the centre of the English Jacobites. 'War and destruction were denounced on the Whigs; libels, songs and lampoons were made upon the government. Common-rooms and coffee houses, which during the preceding fifty years had been increasing and multiplying, were hot-beds of sedition.' Numerous clubs had of late years been founded; the Poetical Club; the Nonsense Club; the Banterers (' who made it their employment to talk at a venture, lie and prate what nonsense they pleased; if a man talked seriously, they talked fluidly nonsense,

and cared not what he said'); the Frecynics ('a kind of philosophical club with a set of symbolical words and grimaces unintelligible to any but those of their own society'); the Jellybag Club (Wordsworth's *Social Life in the Universities*); the High Borlace, a Tory Club, and the Constitution Club, which met at the King's Head, the home of the aggressive Whig minority in the University. The rival parties made use of every possible occasion to place their opinions in evidence. On January 30, the date of the execution of Charles I, the Whigs ridiculing the memory of the martyr king and his death, feasted on calves heads[1]; on the 28th of May, they illumined their windows in honour of the birthday of George I. On the following day the sprig of oak was boldly displayed by all honest Tories in memory of the glorious Restoration; Jacobites wore the white rose on June 10th, the birthday of the Pretender. An undergraduate of the time writes to a friend in London, 'I think myself very happy in this so loyal place, for here we fear nothing but drink James' health every day.' A letter from a Whig, on the other hand, tells that he 'had not been an hour at the University before King James III, the Duke of Ormond, my Lords Bolingbroke and Mar, and several other such toasts, together with 'confusion to the usurper and a speedy restoration to the rightful heir' were proposed in a large company and passed currently round the table. On

[1] See note 6, p. 169.

refusing to drink such toasts, he was told 'it was an affront to the company to refuse to drink what was proposed.'

On May 28, 1715, the Constitution Club met at the King's Head Tavern in the High Street to celebrate the king's birthday. Before the door they had raised a huge heap of faggots for a bonfire, in which it was rumoured they intended to burn the effigies of the late Queen Anne of blessed memory, and the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University. As they were sitting in the hotel and spending the time till dusk should come on, in drinking prosperity to the Royal Family, a very numerous mob made a rush on the faggots, and attacked the club-room with brick-bats and stones; Tory gownsmen crowded the streets and houses near the tavern, threw up their caps, and scattered money among the crowd, crying out 'down with the Constitutioners—down with the Whigs—no George—James for ever, Ormond, Bolingbroke. The excited crowd then proceeded to the Presbyterian meeting-house, gutted it, pulled down the greater part of the shell, burned the pulpit at Carfax, and put the clerk, or 'Amen-raiser' as they called him, in the stocks. About this time, Mr. Deering, the senior proctor, hearing of the riot, proceeded to the King's Arms and dispersed the club. The members in order to avoid the rough treatment of the crowd, escaped through a back-door of the tavern and required the protection of the Proctor

in the streets. On reaching New College, they all went in, and the doors being shut they shot off several blunderbusses and other fire-arms at a venture among the people. Mr. Yelverton of Hart Hall fired his gun several times from his windows and shots were showered on the mob from Oriel College. The next day, being the joyful anniversary of the glorious Restoration, illuminations were placed by the loyal inhabitants in windows, and bonfires lighted in the evening. To further celebrate the occasion, the mob proceeded to wreck the Quakers' meeting-house, and a room used by the Anabaptists; they broke the windows of one Nicolls a Quaker; and hearing that some members of the Constitution Club were sheltering in Oriel College, proceeded there, intending to pull down the buildings. The gates were barred and a number of Whig gownsmen mustering in the guard-room, which was replenished with guns, pistols, powder and ball, fired from the windows, and wounded a scholar of Brazenose. Enraged at this, the mob demanded justice at the gates, and had not the Provost and Fellows dissuaded them, would have demolished the college. The king on hearing of these riotous proceedings, sent 'rattling letters' to Dr. Charlett, deputy Vice-Chancellor, and the Mayor, declaring himself satisfied that the riots both nights were begun by scholars, and that those in authority at Oxford so far from discountenancing them, did not endeavour in the least to suppress them. These

letters had the effect of rendering the Constitution Club more unpopular than ever; Amherst in his 'Terrae Filius' writes 'St. Mary's, the Theatre, Convocation House and Schools echoed with invectives and anathemas against the members; the most scurrilous reflections on them were constantly thrown out in the Lent verses, sermons, declarations, and other public exercises. The Vice-Chancellor and proctors to enliven their dull harangues and to gain the applause of the subordinate rabble, never failed in their most solemn speeches before Convocation, to fall foul and heavy upon the Constitution Club; one of the Proctors described them, as "homunciones nequissimi diis hominibusque invisi," and declared that no Constitutioner should take a degree, while he was in office.' Citations served upon those, who had been implicated in the riot, show that the club included ten New College men; eight Oriel; one Hart Hall, and three Christ Church. All Souls, Worcester, Merton, St. John's, Trinity and Wadham Colleges contributed a member apiece. At the assizes held the following August, Judge Dormer in his charge to the Grand Jury said he had orders from the king to take special notice of the riots. He rebuked the University and City roundly, reminding the latter that they had from old time been rebels, and acknowledged the same every year by the service on St. Scholastica's Day. The Grand Jury thanking him for his excellent charge, retired, and after short

deliberation found 'that the late tumultuous and riotous proceedings had their first rise from a set of men, whose principles were opposite to monarchy and all good order and government, shrouding their ill designs under the specious name of a Constitution Club; that they were well armed and were the authors and abettors of all the mischief.' The Mayor and City Officials were declared to have done their best on the occasion, and all but the Constitutioners pronounced to have behaved as became dutiful and loyal subjects.'

In the meanwhile strict orders had been published on June 4, by the University, with the view of stopping like disturbances on June 10, the 27th birthday of the Pretender; all statutes against disturbers of the peace, persons bearing arms, night walkers, and all who 'gather together multitudes of men in public, or who meet in private and unauthorized assemblies, and confederacies, were to be strictly enforced; tutors were required to look after the movements of their pupils, and to see they were in College at the hour required by Statute. The entry in Hearne's diary, for June 10, runs as follows: 'All honest men, were obliged to drink King James' health, and to show other tokens of loyalty very privately, in their own houses or chambers, or else out of town. For my own part, I walked out of town to Foxcombe, with honest Will. Fullerton, and Mr. Sterling and Mr. Eccles, all non-juring civilians

of Balliol College, and with Mr. John Leake, formerly of Hart Hall, and Richard Clements (son of old Harry Clements, the bookseller), he being a cavalier. We were very merry at Foxcombe, and came home between nine and ten. Honest Will. Fullerton, and myself (it being very near ten o'clock), were taken by the proctor (Dod of Brasenose), just on this side Christ Church, as we were coming to Carfax. The proctor was very civil to Will. and did not say anything to me. No sooner had we got from him, but we met Dr. Charlett with Will. Rawlins, the yeoman beadle with him; but notwithstanding this diligence there was illuminating at Wadham. The Bishop of Bristol (Smalridge), invited all the noblemen and gentlemen Commoners of his house to a supper, and kept them in his lodgings, he being one of the sneakers and terribly afraid of disobliging the debauched court of King George.' The University authorities, in their determination to mete out like measure to both parties, on the 1st of August, the day appointed for thanksgiving for the King's accession, 'lest so just an occasion of rejoicing should be turned into excess and tumult,' ordered that no scholar should endeavour to collect people by giving drink; or should make bonfires or be present at any, before any tavern or in any other part of the street, other than what were made by the University, or by Colleges and Halls, at the public expense of those societies. All Colleges and Halls were forbidden

to light any bonfires, at any other time of the day, than immediately after morning service at St. Mary's, at which time the University bonfire was usually made before the Church doors. Public houses were ordered to close to all, except travellers, at nine o'clock, an hour signified by the tolling of the great bell at Christ Church. The result of these orders was eminently satisfactory. Thanksgiving day was a failure, 'the bells were only jambled by silly persons and a parcel of children, but there was not so much as one good peal rung in Oxford; many shops were open, and such as kept them shut did it more out of sorrow than joy.' The thanksgiving service was scantily attended.

During July and August of this year, there were constant rumours in Oxford, of the landing of the Pretender in Scotland. Amherst in his 'Terrae Filius' states that 'Captain Owen, a notorious Jacobite, and other leading men of the party were entertained by the heads of houses; they walked about the streets with a mob at their heels, huzzaing 'King James, and the Duke of Ormond' and 'No Usurpers'; Whigs went in fear of their lives; portraits of the Pretender were sold in the town, and Hearne purchased one for half-a-guinea; great number of students were enlisted; all horses fit for service were marked; and the notification of the landing of the Duke of Ormond, was the only thing wanted, before breaking into open warfare.'

On the presentation to His Majesty, of an address by the University, the king answered, 'That, as they had shewn an open disrespect for His Majesty's person and government in their late conduct, His Majesty expected they should satisfy him better of their loyalty by their future behaviour, before they attempted it by words.'

On Aug. 18, 'an officer beating up in Oxford for volunteer dragoons, was hissed all round the town; when he came against Balliol College, and was making his proclamation, a vast crowd of people surrounded him, amongst whom were many scholars, who hissed him and cried out, "an Ormond," "down with the Roundheads, down with them to the ground." This made the poor fellow and his drummer to look very sillily. However, they went forward, and after sometime, when they came across "the Angel," in the east in High Street, the south side of the way, a gentleman that was in the inn, came out with a naked sword and challenged the officer, and forced him to cry, "an Ormond," "God bless the Duke of Ormond"; which the poor fellow did, though in a sheepish poor-spirited manner, adding, "Sir, I am for the Duke of Ormond, I believe, as well as you are." This occasioned a great crowd and throng of people, all crying out "an Ormond," "Down with the Roundheads," at which, a certain noted Roundhead, commonly called "My Lord Shaftesbury," came out of his shop, under pretext of inquiring into the occasion

of the matter, and under that pretence to get information against honest people. As soon as he came out, they fell a buffeting him, and as they were thrusting him down the street, just as they came to Eastgate, two gentlemen on horseback came into the town, and Shaftesbury, to save himself from falling, catched hold of one of their bridles. "What a devil!" says the gentleman, "is the matter here. Can't one ride along the high way, without being stopped." At which, both of them began to whip Shaftesbury very eagerly, and when the people said he was a Roundhead, "pray lay on, sirs," they up with the other end of their whips, crying, "So he is a Roundhead! then by God, we will whip him the more." Accordingly they did so, to the great satisfaction of all honest men, and much to the discontent of the Whigs.'

On the failure of the Jacobite movement of 1715, the impeachment of Ormond, and his resignation of the Chancellorship, the University elected his brother, the earl of Arran in his place. He was installed with great pomp on September 26, the Vice-Chancellor taking the opportunity to pronounce a panegyric on the house of Butler, and to suggest that in order to acknowledge its obligations to that family, the University had elected Arran to succeed the exiled Ormond.

'At last matters came to a crisis. The government being informed of all that happened at Oxford, and in particular that Colonel Owen, with some

Papists, Irish officers, and several notorious Jacobites were in sanctuary there, and fermenting the spirit of rebellion, and drinking publicly and uncontrolledly the Pretender's health, and suspecting that they contemplated an insurrection in conjunction with the disaffected at Bath and Bristol, it was resolved to secure their persons. Major General Pepper, being charged with this commission, sent one of his officers, disguised as a countryman, to Oxford, to get intelligence and view the approaches and principal posts of the town, and then began to move himself with his own regiment of dragoons, bending his march towards Bath and Bristol. But on the 5th of October, being then within seven or eight miles of Oxford, instead of resting, he travelled all night, and entered the city early next morning. Having caused his men to alight and fix bayonets, he immediately secured all the avenues of the town, and the gates of every inn and public house. Then sending for the Vice-Chancellor, and the Mayor, he shewed them letters from Secretary Stanhope, and acquainted them with his orders, to seize sixteen or eighteen suspected persons. He desired the Vice-Chancellor to keep the Fellows and Scholars within College, and declared that if any disturbance should arise, or there should be any great number of people in the streets, he would cause his men to fire upon them. A search was then commenced. Colonel Owen, who lay that night at the Grey Hound

Inn, had timely notice of the arrival of the King's troops, and leaped over a wall in his night shirt, and so got into Magdalen College, where General Pepper did not think proper to search for him, rightly judging it would be vain. Of the other suspected persons ten or eleven were taken, of whom the chief were Mr. Gordon, Mr. Ker, Captain Halstead, Mr. Spetman of Norfolk, and Lloyd, the famous Jacobite coffee man at Charing Cross; also one who pretended to be a postman, in the lining of whose coat were found letters he was bringing from the conspirators of Bath to the correspondents at Oxford. They also seized two horses with fine accoutrements, belonging to Colonel Owen, which were said to have been formerly the Duke of Ormond's. As soon as the officers had made their search and refreshed themselves, General Pepper caused them to mount, and marched out of the town with his prisoners, towards Abingdon. The disaffected even after this visit persisted in their disrespectful behaviour towards the King's government and person, and upon information that a traitorous design was carrying on for the seizure of the town for the Pretender, for which purpose a regiment was to be formed of young students under proper officers, who resorted to Oxford for that purpose, the Court thought fit to quarter Colonel Handyside's regiment of foot there. Accordingly, they marched thither on the 28th of October, and their arrival was the more seasonable, as the very

night before, the rabble at Bristol proclaimed the Pretender, and committed several outrages on the well-affected.' It was apropos of this occupation of Oxford, and a present of books made about the same time by the King to Cambridge, that the well known lines were written:

> Our royal master saw with heedful eyes
> The wants of his two universities;
> Troops he to Oxford sent, as knowing why
> That learned body wanted loyalty;
> But books to Cambridge gave, as well discerning
> How that right loyal body wanted learning.

and the Cambridge repartee:

> The king to Oxford sent a troop of horse
> For Tories own no argument but force.
> With equal care to Cambridge books he sent
> For Whigs allow no force but argument.

While Colonel Handyside's regiment remained at Oxford, two serious riots occurred. On the 29th of May 1716 'the Constitution Club and several officers met together at the King's Head Tavern. Whilst they were engaged in drinking the King's health and other loyal toasts, several squibs were thrown in at the window, which burnt some of their cloaks and filled the room with smoke. Besides this, they were continually insulted with loud peals of hisses and condemnations of "Down with the Roundheads" from the gownsmen and other disorderly persons in the street, of which they took no notice. They continued together till about eleven of the clock or not quite so

late, when Mr. Holt of Magdalen College, sub-proctor at that time, came and making up to Mr. Meadowcourt of Merton College, the acting steward of the Club that night, demanded of him the reason of their being at the Tavern. Mr. Meadowcourt rose up and told him that they were met together to commemorate the Restoration of King Charles II, and to drink King George's health, and that they would be obliged to him if he would be pleased to drink King George's health with them, which the proctor after some entreaties complied with. Then one of the Captains went to him and desired him to excuse the scholars that were there, promising he would take care that no harm or disorder should be committed. The proctor then departed, being waited on downstairs by one of the officers.'

Next day, Meadowcourt was sent for, and fined for being out of his College after nine. His name was entered in the black book of the University; he was sentenced to be kept back for two years from his degree, nor be admitted to supplicate for his Grace until 'he confessed his manifold crimes, and asked pardon on his knees.' A crusade was commenced against the Club; members belonging to University, Wadham, Jesus, and Merton Colleges were denied their Graces, delayed in their degrees, or required to sign papers declaring the Club a profligate and scandalous institution. Meadowcourt left Oxford, and three years later revenged himself on

his persecutors, and won the thanks of the government for calling the attention of the Secretary of State to a seditious sermon preached before the University. The Club gradually died out after his departure.

On Nov. 10, the birthday of the Prince of Wales, a disturbance occurred, which in the following year was discussed in a debate by the House of Lords on the Mutiny and Desertion Bill. On the anniversary in question, all signs of rejoicing, such as bell-ringing were omitted. The officer in command of the regiment there, about ten in the morning, went to the Mayor and complained of this want of regard to the Prince. The Mayor answered in a shuffling manner that he did not know it was the Prince's birthday, upon which the officer said he would call out the regiment to celebrate the day with proper rejoicings. On his doing so, the Mayor with a vast crowd after him stopped up the public streets, some of his attendants insulted the soldiers in their march, crying out 'Down with the Roundheads'; threw dirt and stones at them, and even attempted to disarm them; the Star Inn where some of the officers and collegians met to celebrate the festival was assaulted, and the windows were broken by stones thrown from the opposite house. The soldiers then began to throw stones and a general riot ensued. Such was the story told by the Whigs. On the other hand, the University gave a dignified answer to the charges of disorder

brought against them. For forty years past they had not paid any regard to the birthday of any Prince of Wales by making public rejoicings; they had a method of expressing their loyalty more consistent with the dignity of their Founders, and the character of their persons, than by illuminations, bonfires, and firing of guns. As to the alleged disrespect in not ringing bells, out of the sixteen colleges of the University, three only had bells to ring; the riotous proceedings were occasioned by the insolence and rude behaviour of the soldiers, encouraged by the members of the so-called Constitution Club.

During the years that followed, when the cause of the elder Pretender became hopeless, when James had dismissed Bolingbroke, and the party were without a leader; when the long domination of Walpole had accustomed England to its new sovereign, political disturbances were more rare. Oxford, however, was none the less keenly Jacobite. When in 1717, an information was laid against a barber for the seditious expression 'we shall soon have King James III for our King, and I know nobody else that has a right to the Crown,' Dr. Barron the Vice-Chancellor simply bound him over for an assault, and omitted to bind over the witnesses to prosecute. The latter, however, attended sessions and stated the true object of their information, and the jury found a true bill. At the Assizes, Bills of Indictment were found against an innkeeper and the Manciple of

Balliol College for cursing the king and government; a commoner of Exeter and a non-juring member of Balliol were tried and condemned for drinking the health of Ormond and Bolingbroke; two persons were attainted for treason, and for shouting in the streets 'Ormond for ever.'

In 1717, at a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses, Dr. Dunster, Warden of Wadham College, made a motion for an address to his majesty, and was supported by Dr. Wynne, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Warden of Merton College. On the Bishop of Bristol desiring to know the subject of the address, the Bishop of St. Asaph answered, 'They might address him on three heads; the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion; the king's safe return from Hanover; the favour shewn by the Court to the University in granting their late request, that the effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender might not be publicly burnt, as had been intended by the officers of the regiment on the day they heard of his Majesty's return.' Such excessive loyalty found little favour in Convocation. Dr. Smalridge, Dean of Christ Church replied, 'That the rebellion had been suppressed long ago; that there would be no end of addresses if they made one on such an occasion as the king's return; there was, moreover, no precedent for an address to a king that returned from his German dominions; and finally, that any favour they might have received from the court was

more than overbalanced by having a whole regiment quartered on them.

Political clubs were as active, their members as excitable as ever. Smollett in 'Peregrine Pickle' describes a visit of the hero to one of their nocturnal deliberations. 'Peregrine promoted such a spirit of good fellowship by the agreeable sallies of his wit, which were purposely directed against their political adversaries, that by ten o'clock they were all ready to join in the most extravagant proposal that could be made. They broke their glasses in consequence of his suggestion, drank healths out of their shoes, caps, and the bottom of the candlesticks that stood before them, sometimes standing on one foot in a chair, and the knee bent to the edge of the table, and when they could no longer stand in that posture, setting their bare posteriors on the cold floor. They huzzaed, halloed, danced, and sang, and in short were elevated to such a pitch of intoxication that when Peregrine proposed that they should burn their periwigs, the hint was immediately approved, and they executed the frolic as one man. Their shoes and caps underwent the same fate at the same instigation, and in this trim he led them into the street, where they resolved to compel everybody they should find, to subscribe to their political creed, and pronounce the Shibboleth of their party. In the achievement of this enterprise they met with more opposition than they expected; they were encountered with argu-

ments they could not well withstand; the noses of some, the eyes of others, in a very little time bore the marks of obstinate disputation. Their conductor having at length engaged the whole body in a fray with another squadron, which was pretty much in the same state, he very fairly gave them the slip.'

Foreigners suspected of being hostile to the cause went in peril of their lives. Some French and German visitors to the University, who were reported to have drunk damnation to the University and to have killed a drawer, by making him drink King George's health upon his knees against his conscience, were followed through the streets by a mob, crying out 'Down with them. There are the rascals who drink damnation to the University.' At last, as they were going through All Souls College one day, several jovial blades, who were sitting there over a pipe and a bottle, jumped out of the window, and pelting them out of the college with large stones, followed them to their lodgings, and stayed before the house two or three hours, shouting 'Damn all strangers, particularly Frenchmen and Hanoverians.' Protests to the authorities were useless; the Vice-Chancellor refused help, saying, 'The gentlemen were probably in liquor (a very excusable thing in the University); it would be hard to punish them.'

Spies were treated with the utmost rigour. 'In 1721, a stranger, who went into Brasenose Common-room and some rooms in the college, uninvited, and

against all people's wills took up the glass and proposed and drank the healths of James III, and the Duke of Ormond on purpose to entrap gentlemen, was committed to the castle, and after trial at the Assizes was whipped at the cart-tail from Carfax to Eastgate.'

The discomfiture of Walpole over the Excise Bill in 1733, was hailed with delight at Oxford; when the news arrived late at night, the bells were set ringing till two or three in the morning; and next day at dusk 'were bonfires, throwing of serpents and other rejoicings.'

Jacobite enthusiasm, which blazed up afresh in 1745, was by no means extinguished by the defeat of Charles Edward at Culloden. On February 23, 1747, seven honest gentlemen of whom the chief were Messrs. Whitmore, Dawes, and Luxmore, met at Balliol College, and after entertainment sallied forth to the High Street, shouting 'King James,' 'Prince Charles for ever,' and other treasonable words. This happened about seven of the clock in the evening. Now it chanced that hard by, at Winter's coffee-house, in company with several gentlemen of the University and an officer in his regimental habit, sat the Rev. Dr. Blacow, a Whig and a Magister Vici, whose statutory duty it was to keep in the High Street the peace of His Lord the king and the University. This gentleman then, on information received from the waiter, rose with official and political alacrity, and proceeded into the street in the execution of his duty.

Following the rioters from the street in front of the coffee-house down St. Mary's Lane, he found them shouting as before in front of Oriel College. He approached, and when Whitmore advanced towards him, waving his cap and shouting 'King James, Prince Charles, God bless the great King James,' laid hold upon him to drag him before the Proctor; and when the rioters demanded his release, answered, 'Gentlemen, this is strange impudence, let your party be what it will.' Upon this they off with their coats, and with many blows compelled him to let Whitmore go, and to flee for protection to Oriel College. Here he was in comparative safety, and when he heard the mob outside, now some forty strong, mentioning him with the King in their curses, he stepped up to the wicket, and assured them he heard their treason and would bring them to justice.

Soon after, Mr. Harrison, a Master of Arts of Corpus College, happening to pass, Blacow issued forth from his retreat and requested his assistance in taking notice of the treasonable riot. Harrison's answer was both abusive and insulting; Blacow was instantly surrounded; Luxmore laid hold on him; Dawes stripping for the fight, said, 'I am a man who dare say "God bless King James," and tell you my name is Dawes of St. Mary Hall; I am a man of independent fortune and therefore afraid of no man.' In another moment all would have been over with Blacow, when suddenly the Proctor appeared; a general stampede

followed; Luxmore regardless of the proctorial 'Siste per fidem' fled from the scene; Dawes was led away by the bull-dogs still shouting 'God bless my dear King James.'

On the following day Blacow, burning with his injuries, waited upon Dr. John Purnel, Warden of New College, Vice-Chancellor, in order to lay the whole of this treasonable riot, with the names of the rioters, before him. The Vice-Chancellor, however, refused to look at the matter in a serious light, saying, 'nothing could prevent young fellows getting into liquor, but they should be severely punished'; when Blacow requested that the depositions of his witnesses might be taken down, Purnel constantly waived the point 'with a seeming warmth to have the offenders severely punished,' saying 'mad young fellows get heated with liquor and don't consider what they do; it would be hard to ruin them for what they had done'; when it was suggested that their treasonable behaviour implied perjury, he answered 'mad young fellows did not think about perjury, and it would be hard to proceed against boys in too harsh a manner'; and on Blacow attributing the decay of the University to the insufficient punishment of each act of treason, the Vice-Chancellor 'trusted that the fortune of that place would never depend on the indiscretion of a few young persons.'

Finally, he refused 'both as Vice-Chancellor and superior Head of the University, and also as a civil

magistrate and Justice of the Peace' to take the depositions; the prisoners were punished by an imposition of English to be translated into Latin, and the putting off their degrees for two years. Blacow, however, was by no means content to let the matter rest. He contrived that the affair should reach the ears of the King; the Duke of Newcastle wrote to him for particulars of the riot, and two messengers of state were sent down to arrest Luxmore, Dawes, and Whitmore. The University, at this unexpected turn of affairs, thought fit to express at a general meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, held April 11, 1748, 'their sincere abhorrence and detestation of such factious and seditious practices, as the notorious insult to his majesty's crown and government, and the contempt of the wholesome laws and discipline of the University and the governors thereof, offered on February 23, and expressed their resolution to punish all such offenders (of what state and quality soever they might be) with the utmost rigour of the statutes. All bursars, deans, censors and tutors were recommended to prevent, as far as possible, all private entertainments of scholars in their chambers, "which generally are attended with great intemperance and excess," and to compel all persons to attend in the common hall at the usual hours of dinner and supper; proctors and magistrates were required to be vigilant in visiting all public-houses, and places of entertainment, such as coffee-houses, cook-shops, and victualling

houses, and in punishing all young scholars found at such places.

The government were not blinded by this move. The address, in which the University congratulated his majesty on the establishment of peace, was rejected with scorn. An attempt was made to subject their statutes to the inspection of the King's Council, but the rule being argued in the King's Bench, was dismissed; the same tribunal, however, granted an information against Dr. Purnel for refusing to take the depositions, but this was afterwards dropped.

On the trial of the prisoners, Luxmore was acquitted; but Dawes and Whitmore were sentenced 'to walk through the Courts of Westminster with a specification of their crime fixed to their foreheads; to pay a fine of five nobles apiece; to be imprisoned for two years and find security for good behaviour for the term of seven years after their enlargement. Blacow, whose conduct as a common informer had subjected him to insult at Oxford, was rewarded with a canonry at Windsor.

The severity of this sentence seems to have had but little effect on the University. The following year 1749, Dr. King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, a famous Jacobite, who had acted as secretary to Ormond and Arran during their Chancellorships, was appointed to deliver the address on the dedication of Radcliff's Library. Each sentence of the peroration commenced with the auspicious word 'Redeat,' pronounced with due emphasis by the honest Doctor, and each 'Redeat'

was received with shouts of applause by the audience of illustrious Jacobites, which crowded the Sheldonian Theatre; the oration was afterwards printed with the word in capital letters, and drew forth a storm of pamphlets, attacking some the Latinity, some the politics of the Principal.

The movements of Prince Charles Edward, after his expulsion from France on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle were mysterious, but in 1750, 1752 and 1754, he is thought to have visited his adherents in London, and no doubt contrived to keep Oxford well informed of his designs. In the latter year occurred the famous Oxfordshire election, in which the bitterness of party spirit reached its culminating point. Writs for summoning Parliament were issued on April 9, being returnable on May 31, and in accordance therewith, Mr. Blackall, the sheriff, held his County Court at Oxford on the 17th of April, as soon as possible after he had received the writs. The candidates for election were Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood for the 'blues' or 'old interest,' Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner for the 'yellows' or 'new interest.' As the candidates were strong and had great interest, and the freeholders were numerous, it was found impossible to determine the election upon a view; a poll was therefore demanded, and continued till April 23rd. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1754, states that 'during the election party feeling was more violent than had been known for many years and hurried

both sides with regrettable excesses. On the day of return the yellows, who went in a cavalcade to the Bear at Oxford, were followed by a tumultuous rabble, who became every moment more numerous and more outrageous, pelting the chariots and coaches with dirt and stones, hurting many of the gentlemen, and covering the carriages and horses with filth. On Magdalen Bridge they surrounded a post chaise, in which was Captain Turton and another person, crying out "Over with them; drown them; kill them," at the same time taking hold of the wheels and traces, and lifting the carriage up. Among others in this mob was a chimney sweep, who, when the chaise was thus stopped, threw two pebbles at it and was stooping to pick up a third, which Turton perceiving, drew a pistol and shot him dead. For this act he was afterwards tried and acquitted. The mob that espoused the new interest were on some occasions not less tumultuous and indecent. Among other enormities they got into one of the churches at Oxford and mounting the pulpit drank "Damnation to the last blue parson, that preached in that blue pulpit." Within a few weeks the other party was so violent that they mobbed a gentleman into the town for no other reason, than because his servant had by mere accident wound a piece of yellow silk over the fore part of his horses bridle.'

Oxford was literally placarded with lampoons and political caricatures and squibs. Wenman, who was said to have attended a seditious meeting in Oxford



OLD MAGDALEN BRIDGE, TAKEN DOWN 1772.

at an inn, which was dispersed by the Life Guards, was represented concealing his diminutive figure behind a jack-towel; Sir James Dashwood as trying to make his escape up a chimney and sticking fast; Turner was reported to have whipped a female beggar and was saluted with cries of 'no whip beggar Turner.' Every possible voter had been canvassed; Wenman and Dashwood had entertained their party with great magnificence; Turner and Parker prepared displays of cricket, cock-fighting, and single-sticks for their adherents; the new interest was supported by the Duke of Marlborough and Earl Harcourt, while Lady Susannah Keck, wearing top-boots and riding astride her horse, had scoured the county far and wide on behalf of the Yellows. Polling booths were set up in Broad Street, but the old interest mob on the very first day, seized every access to the front of the booths and guarded them, twenty men deep. Exeter College, which, with Wadham, Merton, and Christ Church represented the Whig party in the University, gave a free passage through its buildings to the voters, conduct which was consequently stigmatised by Dr. Huddesford, the Vice-Chancellor, as infamous.

When the number of votes was cast up, Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood had a majority of 238, which the sheriff then declared. A scrutiny was however demanded by both sides, and the return of the writ delayed.

The sheriff, who was alleged to have shown undue partiality during the election to the Yellows, delayed to commence the scrutiny till the 9th of May, and then ordered that the Yellows should first make their objections through the whole poll, thus allowing the Blues no time to make their protests.

Finally, the sheriff returned all the four candidates in one instrument, and the matter was referred to Parliament for decision. After much delay, and after arguments on both sides, Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were, on the 23rd of March 1755, voted to have been duly elected.

From this date Jacobitism rapidly died out, and probably the last outward sign of it, was the election to the Chancellorship in 1759 of Lord Westmoreland, a recent convert from Whig principles. To judge by the slightly fulsome addresses presented to George III, the University had already become Hanoverian, before the entry of Henry Stuart into the Roman Catholic Church, and the death in 1788 of Charles Edward without an heir, finally extinguished the dying hopes of the Jacobite party. Already in 1768 the change must have been noticeable. In that year, the speaker of the House of Commons, in reprimanding the Mayor of Oxford for offering to sell the representation of the City to anyone who would pay the municipal debt, remarked as follows, 'many circumstances concur to aggravate your offence. The place of your residence was a singular advantage.

You had at all times the example of one of the most learned and respectable bodies in Europe before your eyes. Their conduct in every instance, but especially in the choice of their representatives in Parliament was well worthy your imitation.' The sincerity of the loyal feelings now transferred by Oxford to the House of Hanover, was proved by the enthusiasm which greeted George III, when he visited the City from Nuneham Park, in 1785 and 1786.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.

UNASSOCIATED with local or political interests, Rixae Oxonienses have long lost their place in history. The character of Oxford life and studies in the latter half of the eighteenth century must however have been eminently favourable to their growth. Those were the halcyon days before the storms of the nineteenth century compelled the undergraduate to 'be for ever climbing up the climbing wave' of competition. Public exercises and examinations were totally unknown. Fellows of Colleges 'passed their days in a series of uniform employments, the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room.' 'Gentlemen Commoners were left to educate themselves'; Lord Eldon's degree examination in 1770 was of a strikingly simple character. 'What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull? Answer, Golgotha. Who founded University College? Answer, King Alfred. Very well; you are competent for your degree.'

Time was spent by undergraduates in drinking, smoking, hunting, badger-baiting, and the like.

The dearth of information on the subject of the Town and Gown encounters during this period is the more to be regretted by the serious student, when it is recollected that the theme might have received adequate treatment at the hands of such contemporary Oxonians, as Gibbon, Blackstone, and the voluminous Bentham, or might have elicited from Southey a poem worthy for once of an average Laureate. But these writers are strangely silent on the point, while University literature of the time, scouting more serious subjects, is devoted to frivolous poetry; to weak imitations of Addison, Steele, and Johnson; to 'that last infirmity of noble minds,' translations of the classics in prose and verse.

With the nineteenth century 'Town and Gown' rows became simply a memorial; the 5th of November being selected as a fitting day for so suitable a commemoration of the founders and defenders of the privileges and honour of the University. The ceremonies practised at such celebrations became soon stereotyped, and rarely displayed features sufficiently novel to attract the attention of the journalist. In 1835, Christ Church fountain was found to be paved with knockers and broken fragments of sign-boards, trophies of a 'Gown' victory; in 1840, skirmishes took place at the illuminations made on Feb. 10, in honour of the Queen's nuptials; a Tutor, despite his

Master's gown, was roughly handled, and retired with a black eye and injured nose. In 1867, a fatal collision, in which a Brasenose undergraduate was killed, occurred on the 5th of November; no ill-feeling seems to have existed at the time between City and University, but much discontent ruled among the poorer inhabitants of Oxford at the continued high price of bread; some foreign workmen, newly discharged from work on Balliol College, joined in the fight. The leader of the 'Town' was dragged into Christ Church and ducked in the fountain; the riot continued for three days, although after the 5th, all undergraduates were kept within the gates of their colleges. Special constables were sworn in, and the military were summoned.

Within the last few years, Town and Gown rows have practically ceased, and may perhaps be reckoned among those ceremonies originally instituted for goodly purposes, which have degenerated into vain superstitions. 'Like the last echo born of some great cry' the feeble war-shout of a few Freshmen is all that marks the momentous anniversary of Nov. 5. No longer does St. Martin's ring out defiance to St. Mary's; Mayor and Chancellor no longer marshal their respective forces. No more do proctors and aldermen clutch each other in the death-grip, and 'blooming' Bachelors fall thick as leaves in Vallombrosa. Laic walks in peace with Clerk, and Clerk with Laic. Time has tempered even the lofty disdain of the

Bedell for the Baillive. Oxford is become a place at unity with itself; armed bands and hostile conspiracy have yielded place to 'solemn troops and sweet societies,' a city of 'cliques' to one, where, as all the world knows, such unhappy divisions exist no more.

NOTES.

NOTE 5.

'The University of Oxford held out a siege of more than a year and a half, after the Town had surrendered, for the Convocation House proved a citadel and each single College a fort, which they found it not very easy to reduce.'

The effect of the Puritanical visitations of 1648 and 1649 is described by John Allibond, D.D., of Magdalen College, in his 'macaronic' poem, 'Rustica Academiae Oxoniensis nuper reformatae descriptio in visitatione fanatica.'

Rumore nuper est delatum,
  Dum agebamus ruri,
Oxonium iri reformatum
  Ab iis qui dicti Puri.

Decrevi itaque confestim,
  Obstaculis sublatis,
Me oculatum dare testem
  Hujusce novitatis.

Ingressus urbem juxta morem,
  Scrutandi desiderio,
Nil praeter maciem et squalorem
  Faedissimum comperio.

. . . . . .

Ad scholas primum me trahebat
  Comitiorum norma,
Queis olim quisque peragebat
  Solemniter pro forma.

Expecto Regios Professores,
  Comparuere nulli;
Nec illic adsunt inceptores
  Nec togae nec cuculli.

Calcavi atrium quadratum
  Quo juvenum examen
Confluxit olim; video pratum
  Quod densum tegit gramen.

. . . . . .

Conscendo orbis illud decus,
  Bodleio fundatore,
Sed intus erat nullum pecus
  Excepto janitore:

Neglectos vidi libros multos,
  Quod minime mirandum,
Nam inter bardos tot et stultos
  There's few could understand them.

Domenico sequente die
  Ad sacra celebranda
Ad aedes propero Mariae;
  Nam divae vox nefanda;

Ingressus, sedes senioribus
  Togatis destinatas
Videbam cocis et sartoribus
  Et lixis usurpatas—

. . . . . .

Collegium petii animarum,
  Nunc proprie sic dictum,
Nam rerum hic corporearum
  Vix quicquam est relictum.

Hic quaero virum suavitate
  Omnimoda politum;
Responsum alibi ingrate
  Custodem custoditum.

Ecclesiam Christi susque deque
  Jactatam mox et versam
Et sobolem heu! longe lateque
  Percipimus dispersam.

Ad Corpus Christi flecto gressum
  Qua brevitate possum
Jurares novis probris pressum
  Et furibus confossum.

Hinc domum peto Precursoris
  Quem triste passum fatum
Recenti narrant vi tortoris
  Secundo decollatum.

(By Archbishop Laud's execution St. John's Head had been cut off a second time.)

Tam sancto Praeside cadente
  Discipuli recedunt;
Et cacodaemone regente
  Nec bibunt jam nec edunt.

Reverso tristis fertur casus
  Et miserandum omen
Collegii cui Rubens nasus
  Prae foribus dat nomen,

Dederunt illi Principalem
  Rectores hi severi
Distortis oculis et qualem
  Natura vult caveri.

Mox aedes ingredi conatus
  Non unquam senescentes, (New College)
Stupescens audio ejulatus
  Horrenda sustinentes;

Quod dulce nuper domicilium
  Ingenuis alendis
Nunc merum est ergastulum
  Innocuis torquendis.

Ad flentem me recipio tandem
  Flens ipse Magdilenam
Et gemens video eandem
  Vacuitate plenam.

. . . . . .

Pro Praeside (cui quenquam parem
  Vix aetas nostra dedit)
En vobis stultum capularem
  Ad clavum jam qui sedet.

(Goodwin, commonly called Nine Caps.)

Quocunque breviter flectebam
  Aut dirigebam visum
Id totum vocat quod videbam
  Aut lacrymas aut risum.

Ingemui dum viros video
  Doctissimos ejectos,
Et contra alternatum rideo
  Stolidulos suffectos.

Heu! ingens rerum ornamentum
  Et aevi decus pridem
Quo tandem pacto hoc perventum
  Ut idem non est idem.

Nam vix a quoquam quod narratur
  Obventum olim somnio,
Compertum erit, si quaeratur
  Oxonium in Oxonio.

NOTE 6.

The author of 'Whigs Unmasked' states that the original Calves-Head Club was founded by Milton and some other creatures of the Commonwealth in opposition to Bishop Juxon, Dr. Sanderson and other divines of the Church of England, who met every 30th day of January and held a commemoration service. The meetings of the Club were most usually in a blind alley near Moorfields where an axe was hung up in the club-room, and 'reverenced as a symbol in this diabolical sacrament. The bill of fare was a large dish of Calves' Heads dressed in several ways, by which they represented the King and his Friends who had suffered in his cause; a large Pike with a small one in his mouth, as an emblem of tyranny; a Boar's Head with an apple in his mouth, to represent the King by this as Bestial as by their other Hieroglyphics they had done foolish and tyrannical. After the repast was over, one of their elders presented an Ikon Basilike, which was

with great solemnity burned on the Table while the anthems were singing. After this another produced Milton's "Defensio Populi Anglicani" upon which all laid their hands, and made a protestation in form of an oath for ever to stand by, and maintain the same.'

A verse of the song sung on such occasions ran :—

'Now let's sing, carouse, and roar;
The happy day is come once more.
For to revel
Is but civil,
As our Fathers did before;
Who, when the Tyrant would enslave us,
Chopped his Calf's Head off to save us.

